

THE
MEMOIRS

OF

George Leyburn, &c.



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OF

George Thompson &c

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OF

GEORGE LETBURN, K

Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain to *Henrietta*
Maria QUEEN of ENGLAND.

BEING

A Journal of his Agency for Prince CHARLES
in *Ireland*, in the Year 1647.

Accompanied with Original Instructions
and Letters to the Author, from Prince Charles,
Queen Mother, the Duke of Ormond, Lord
Digby, Lord Clanriccard, the Pope's Nun-
cio, &c.

*Publish'd without the least Alteration from the
Original in the Author's own Hand.*

To which is prefix'd,

An Account of the Author's Life, with his
Remarkable Prediction concerning General
Monck, and the Restoration of King CHARLES
the Second, mention'd by Dr. Thomas Gumble,
in the LIFE of that great General.

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THE
MEMOIRS

GEOFFREY LEBURN

DEPT. OF THE ARMY, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
GENERAL, WINDSOR, 1894



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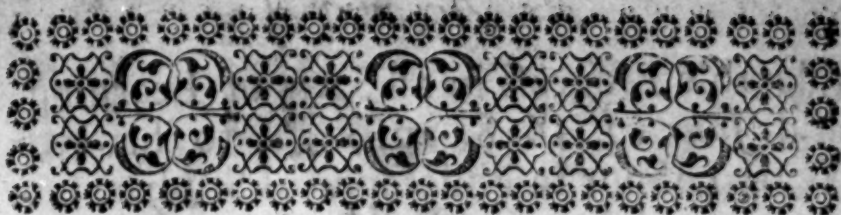
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An Account of the Author's
L I F E.

 *R. George Leyburn* was born in *Westmoreland* of a very ancient Family, known in those Parts a considerable time before the Conquest, and which afterwards was distinguish'd by several honourable Alliances, especially with the *Dacre's* and *Norfolk's*. The Estate belonging to the Family was formerly very considerable, but by Degrees much impair'd by Heiresses; and in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days it was still more reduced, by the unfortunate Circumstances of *James Leyburn, Esq;* who was executed at *Lancaster March 22, 1583*. *George Leyburn* was Born in the Year 1597, and sent very young to Study in the *English College* in *Doway*, where he was enter'd a Member of that House *March 13. 1617*, under the Name of *George Bradley*. He made a considerable

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considerable Progress in all Sorts of Learning, and *June 12. 1618*, answer'd to his two Years Labour in Philosophical Studies, under the celebrated Professor *Thomas White*, otherwise *Blackloe*. Having run thro' two Years of Theological Learning, he undertook to teach a Lesson of Humanity, which Employment he began in *October 1620*, and having perform'd it some Years with singular Applause, he reassum'd his Theological Studies and compleated 'em; during which Time he receiv'd the Order of Priesthood, *viz. August 5. 1625*. In 1627, having laid in a good Stock of Divine Learning, he was desirous to polish it, and improve himself somewhat farther in the famous University of *Paris*, for which Place he set out from *Doway*, *November 3*, the Year above-mention'd. Here he remain'd two or three Years, and became a noted Tutor in *Arras* College. Afterwards being invited over into *England*, he took *Doway* in his Way, and began his Journey from thence *August 29, 1630*. He was soon admitted to the Queen's Presence, made one of her Chaplains and Favourites. Some Disturbances happening in the Queen's Family on Account of Religion, the *English* Chaplains were obliged to abscond.

the Author's Life.

second. It was Mr. *Leyburn's* Misfortune to be apprehended and confin'd. He was design'd to be prosecuted, but by the Queen's Means it was exchanged into Banishment. And now he was again resolved to make a further Progress in Theological Studies, and settling at *Doway*, he spent some Years in teaching Philosophy and Divinity. It was during this Time that he took a Journey to the University of *Rheims*, where he compleated the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, and was invited by the Archbishop, at the Head of a Provincial Synod, to answer to his Act in their Presence, which Piece of Honour he refus'd with remarkable Modesty. Desiring soon after to return into *England*, which was about the breaking out of the Civil Wars, he found every Thing in great Confusion; and had not been there long before he was taken up and committed to the Tower. It was about 1644, when he became acquainted with Colonel *Monck*, then a Prisoner in the same Place for adhering to the Royal Cause. I must not omit some remarkable Passages which happen'd between these two, and which are related by Dr. *Thomas Gumble* in his Life of General *Monck*, Page 119. Take 'em in the Author's own

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words. I must here crave leave to tell you a Story, and because none may believe it forg'd, for this Relator hath heard it above fifteen Years ago, and is able to bring good Testimony thereof; while General Monck was in the Tower, one Dr. Leyburn, a Professor in Divinity, and a Romish Priest, came often to see the General in the Tower, and it was upon some little Acquaintance which he had with him in the Company of Sir Thomas Cade-man, the late Queen's Physician; some Friends of his ask'd this Leyburn (if I do not mistake his Name) why he gave himself the Trouble to visit this Monck so often. He replies, that within some Years that Person shou'd be the greatest Person of the three Nations, (and so he was for some Time before the King's Return); and long afterwards the same Person being at Supper with the General and other Friends, a little before his Expedition into Scotland with Cromwel, he publickly asserted at the Table, that he shou'd within six Months, or thereabouts, be a General in the North, and within some Years shou'd command the three Nations. This indeed prov'd true, but by what Means this Leyburn pretended this Fore-knowledge I cannot imagine; I do not remember that he ever cast his Nativty; but some think that he took this up, from

the Author's Life.

from secret Lines and Marks in his Face; which wou'd render the Story very incredible, tho' the General had a Soldier-like and Majestick Countenance: But this is certain, that Leyburn came out of the Spanish Netherlands after his Majesty's Restoration, and visited the General; and also, that he did Prophecy of this long before: Now that such a vain Prediction should have any Influence upon the General's Faith, is to me very doubtful. I know he never listen'd to such vain Prognosticks. He told me this Story himself in Scotland. Thus far Dr. Gumble, who doubts not of the Fact, but is puzzl'd about the Manner. I have been assur'd by some, who were personally acquainted with Dr. Leyburn, that he was a Person of such extraordinary Piety and Regularity in his Conduct, that few were better intitl'd to the Secrets of Divine Providence, and it seems as much for the Credit of the Royal Cause to make Heaven busie on this Occasion, as to draw unaccountable Inferences from the Lines of the Face. But to proceed, when Dr. Leyburn had obtain'd his Liberty, he went over into France, where he was very serviceable to the Suffering Party. In the Year 1647, Prince Charles and Queen Mother engaged him to go over
into

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into *Ireland*, and report the real Grounds of the Misunderstandings between the two Confederate Roman Catholick Armies. This Journey being over, he drew up the Particulars of his Agency, to give the Prince and Queen a true Idea of their Affairs in *Ireland*. In 1648, *Richard Smith*, Bishop of *Calcedon*, residing then in *Paris*, appointed Dr. *Leyburn* to be his Vicar General in *England*, jointly with *Mark Harrington* alias *Drury*, Batchelor of *Sorbon*. Afterwards, upon the Decease of Dr. *William Hyde*, President of *Doway* College, our Author was install'd in that Place *June* 24, 1652, which he enjoy'd above eighteen Years, and resign'd to his Nephew *John Leyburn*, about the Middle of 1670, being at that time call'd up to *Rome*. He remain'd at *Rome* about a Year and a half, then returning into *England*, after having settled some Domestic Affairs, he took his leave of it, and spent the Remainder of his Days at *Chaalons* in *Champaign*, where he gave up his last Breath *December* the 29th, 1677, leaving behind him a Character becoming the Primitive Ages; and the Inhabitants of *Chaalons* to this Day pay a Respect to his Memory, little inferior to that of a canonized Saint. He was Doctor of Divinity of the
University

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University of *Rheims*, President of *Doway* College, Chaplain to the Queen of *England*, Vicar General to the Bishop of *Calcedon*, and Agent to Prince *Charles* in *Ireland*. He was learned, pious, and warm with Zeal, both in Publick and Domestick Concerns. He had been twice a Prisoner, and as often Banish'd. His Life was attended with several Controversies, and Contradictions, which he always made a Hand of to his Improvement in Virtue, and the worst Part of his Character was that of being obstinately Good. Tho' he did not affect appearing in Print, yet he has left some Instances of his Abilities that Way, *viz.*

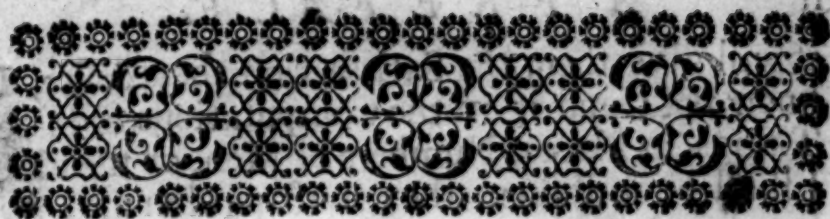
1. An Encyclical Epistle to his Brethren.
2. Holy Characters.

3. As to the present Performance it has been reserv'd in Manuscript ever since 1648; now what Credit may be given to him in Regard of the Subject he treats of, may be learnt from these Words of the Lord *Clanriccard* in *Ireland*, to Sir *John Winter* the Queen's Secretary at *Paris*. *From this worthy Bearer you may be pleas'd to receive a very clear and perfect Account, both of Persons and Actions here; and his known Piety, and settl'd Zeal to the Service of their Majesties, does most justly deserve a special favourable*

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vourable Regard and firm Belief. This Letter of Credence was written by Lord *Clanriccard*, General of the Confederate Catholics in *Ireland* for the King, and brought over by Dr. *Leyburn*, the Original whereof is in my Custody. And what Character is here given of our Author, I believe the History it self will make good, to which I remit the Reader.





A

P R E F A C E.

 **I**N this following Discourse, being accidentally and hastily written for my own Instruction, and the Satisfaction of those, who in that Employment had Authority to take an Account and judge of my Actions; I have willingly omitted all Circumstances whatsoever, that did not precisely tend to those Ends; setting down nothing but Matters of Fact. But now, that I meet with some Friends, who having heard of this Manuscript, desire to see it, willing, as it seems, to be guided out of those Mazes, into which the Discourses and Reports of several Factions have engaged them, concerning the Passages and Transactions of Things in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, I have thought fit, as well as my Memory will permit me, by way of Preface, to set down so much of the State of that Country, at my Arrival thither, as may serve for the better Understanding of this following Relation; which, when all is done, whether or no

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it will give them the Satisfaction they desire, I know not ; and if in the Computations of some Things, as Places, Numbers of Men, or the like, I shall be mistaken, they must pardon me ; for I undertake no exact Description, but only to say so much, as may give a Reader the better means to judge of the whole Matter, and neither indeed at my being there, did I clog my Memory with the Observation of such Things, being more intent on the Business I had then in Hand, then on the Consideration of Matters not so necessary.

Ireland, which I judge to be, at least, as great as *England*, take off *Wales* and *Cornwall*, is divided into four Provinces, *Leinster*, *Munster*, *Connaught*, and *Ulster* : In the whole, there were three Parties openly declared against each other, in this manner commanded. The first, by my Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, Governor of the Kingdom for the King, under the Title of Lord Lieutenant. The second, by that which they called the Supreme Counsel of the Confederate Catholicks. The third, by those three (as I conceive, independant of each other) the Lord of *Insequeen*, Sir *Charles Coute*, and Colonel *Monroe*, all under the *English* Parliament, though the last had a more immediate Relation to his Country-men the *Scotts*. The Lord Lieutenant was possess'd in *Leinster* of *Dublin*, the principal City of the Kingdom (and equal to any other I have seen in *England*, except *London*) with the adjacent Territory, some ways twenty, some ways thirty Miles about it ; in which he had all the Sea Ports on that Coast, with divers Garri-
sons,

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forts, as *Tredaugh*, *Trim*, *Carlow*, and others, out of which he could draw some 2000 Foot, whereof, as I believe, the most part were Catholics, and some 400 Horse, most Protestants, and the Commanders, for the greater part, if not all Protestants; *English* or *Scotts*. Besides those, he had then received from the Parliament of *England*, as I take it, three Regiments of Foot, whereof there were two quartered in *Dublin*, the third in *Trim* and *Tredaugh*; as also some Quantity of Ammunition.

The Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics were possess'd of all the rest of *Leinster*, in Quantity of Ground, as I guess, three parts of four, wherein *Wexford*, *Rose*, and *Kilkenny*, were the most considerable places; with all the Ports, but those in my Lord of *Ormond's* Quarters. I think likewise, they had much about the same Proportion in *Munster*, with those chief Towns *Waterford*, *Limerick*, and *Clomell*; with many other Towns and Castles; all the Ports up to *Toughall*: They were likewise possess'd of almost all *Connaught*, with *Galloway* the principal Town and Haven, and all the others except *Sligo*. In *Ulster*, the greatest Province in *Ireland*, they had few Places, except *Charlamont*, and some Castles on the Borders of *Connaught*, though from thence came most of their best Foot under *Oneale* their General for that Province. They had, not long after my coming thither, on foot those Forces, under *Preston* their General for *Leinster*, betwixt six or seven thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, as I verily believe by the Poll. In *Munster*, under my Lord

of *Worcester*, who commanded with the King's Commission, though with their Consent, against my Lord *Insequeen*, five or six thousand Foot, and near one thousand Horse: In *Ulster*, and upon the Borders of *Leimster* and *Connaught* under *Oneale*, nine or ten thousand Foot and Horse.

My Lord of *Insequeen*, by the Parliament made President of *Munster*, was in that Province possess'd of *Toughall*, *Kinsale*, and *Corke*, with some other places adjoining; and about as much Territory (as I can guess, having never been there) as my Lord of *Ormond* had in *Leimster*: He was able, out of his Garrisons, to draw into the Field some 5000 Foot, almost all *English*; and some eight hundred or a thousand Horse, *English*.

Sir *Charles Coote*, by the Parliament made President of *Connaught*, was possess'd in that Province of *Sligo* a Port Town, and *Coleraine*, otherwise called *Londonderry*, with some places on the Borders of *Ulster*. He could make two or three thousand Foot *English* and *Irish*, and some two hundred ill Horse.

Colonel *Monroe* commanded in *Ulster* for the Parliament, and was in that Province possess'd of *Knockfergus*, *Carickfergus*, and divers other Places: He could draw into the Field three or four thousand Foot, all *Scotts* or *Scottish Irish*, of which there are many Inhabitants of that Country, and some two or three hundred Horse. Those were the several Parties, or Factions, with their Leaders: These the Places, Territories, and Quarters of which they stood severally possess'd; and these the Forces, they could upon
Occasion

P R E F A C E.

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Occasion draw into the Field, at my Arrival in Ireland.

And now for the Reader's better understanding, it remains that I briefly, and historically say something of every one of them. And first, of the Marquis of Ormond. He, one of the noblest of the old *English* Families, and by King *James* his Command, taken from his Father, brought into *England* young, under *Abbots*, Bishop of Canterbury bred a Protestant, after returned into *Ireland*, and there settled, was by the late King *Charles*, about the Year 1645, made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; that Kingdom, during the Interval from my Lord of *Stratford's* Death, having been governed by Commissioners, and Those managing things there totally according to the Parliament Interest, gave the King cause to remove them, placing my Lord of *Ormond* in that Government, who receiving the Command of the *English* Army, made War for some time sharply and successfully on his Countrymen, the *Irish* Confederate Catholics, until the Civil War broke out in *England*, between the King and his Parliament. The King finding on the one side that the Money he had consented should be raised for the War of *Ireland*, was employed against himself; and on the other, needing the Assistance of that Army, caused my Lord Lieutenant to make a Cessation with the *Irish*, and so drew all, or the greatest Part, of those Forces over to him. After which, the Cessations were continued from time to time, until (after the Battle of *Nasby*, where the Blow was so fatal, as the King could no longer make

Head

Head against the Parliament) a Peace was concluded between my Lord Lieutenant of the one Part for the King, and four or five Commissioners on the other Part for the *Irish*: Which Peace was no sooner made than broken; the Nuncio, then residing there for the Pope, with the Clergy, protesting against it, and excommunicating all the Adhearers to it, with whom in time joined all the considerable Towns and Castles in *Ireland*, that were not actually in the Possession of the Lord Lieutenant, or the Parliament; and generally speaking, all the People Catholick, who were not otherwise over-awed by living within the Quarters of one, or the other; only some of the Nobility and Gentry, as also of the Clergy excepted, induced thereunto, either by their Allegiance to the King, my Lord of *Ormond*'s Interest in the Nation, or lastly, Aversion to, and Fear of *Oneale* and the old *Irish*; so as my Lord Lieutenant's Heralds, sent to Proclaim the Peace, were at *Limerick*, the principal Town of *Munster*, beaten and wounded; and himself, attended with some two thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, thinking by his Authority, so accompanied, to make good the Peace, was, by the Appearance of *Mac-Thomas*, at a distance, in the head of the *Leinster* Horse (from whom he received no satisfactory Answer) and the notice of *Oneale*'s march towards him with his Army, forced in great Trouble and Disorder to make his Retreat to *Dublin*; where, expecting a Siege, he presently endeavoured to strengthen himself, within by Fortifications, without by destroying the Country towards the
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Confederate Quarters, which the *Irish*, by their flow Proceedings, gave him Opportunity enough to do; who some three or four Months after, in the middle of Winter, approached *Dublin* with two Armies under the Commands of *Oneale* and *Preston*, independant of each other; when the Marquiss of *Clanrichard*, a Catholick, and the greatest Person of *Ireland*, after the Lord Lieutenant, with whom he was then in *Dublin*, offered to treat, which accepted by *Preston* and his Officers, an Agreement was made and Sworn to, but not perfected by present Execution of the Things agreed, so that it came to nothing; for which my Lord Lieutenant accused *Preston* of too little Care of his Word, and too much Fear of the Nuncio and Clergy; and he again, my Lord, of Subtilty, in setting Division amongst them, and Delay in performing Things to be done on his Part; whereby, through the Unseasonableness of the Weather, and Want of all things, he was forced to retreat, his Army dissolving of it self. And now the King having put himself into the *Scotts* Hands, with whom he treated, my Lord of *Ormond* did so too; for surrendering up his Authority, and those Places under his Command into the Power of the *English* Parliament of the same Faction; during the time of which Negotiation, he was content, for his better Defence against the *Irish*, to receive some Number of Parliament Foot into his Garrisons, with certain Quantities of Ammunition, for which, and for Performance of Articles agreed on, or to be agreed on, he delivered his Son,

Son, my Lord of *Ossery*, as a Hostage. Thus much concerning my Lord of *Ormond*.

And now to say something of the Supreme Counsel, or the Confederate Catholicks, I must draw a little higher towards the Spring that so the Reader may the better judge of the whole. The predominant Faction in the *English* Parliament, knowing no so likely Impediment to the Designs they had in hand, as that which might proceed from the Catholick Party, which though not very great in *England*, in respect of their Numbers, yet was numerous in *Ireland*, the Hundredth *Irish* Man not being a Protestant, and abominating all of that Religion, had no so good Way to affright the King from making use of that Assistance, as by all Means they could possible, to thrust the *Irish* into Rebellion, and then to accuse the King, the Queen being a Catholick, as the Author of it; from whence divers Things would follow. First, that they should, with the Help of their *Scottish* Friends, have a good Occasion to destroy and extirpate that People, possessing themselves and their Party of their Lands; as also, the Catholick Religion in the three Nations. Secondly, the King having this Principle infused into him, that Nothing was so necessary to his Safety, as the clearing himself and the Queen from that Imputation, would be so far from seeking Assistance that Way, as he should not dare to refuse joining with them, in such Acts of Parliament as they should propose to him, for the better perfecting those Designs; provided, the Pretence were the repressing or punishing of that

that Rebellion, by which it would come to pass, that they would levy what Forces, or raise what Monies they pleased, which afterwards they might convert to what Use they thought fit; and all this, as Things were disposed, was no hard Matter to compass: For, the *Irish* had not enjoyed such a pleasant Bondage under the *English*, but that they had contracted Ill-will enough against their Masters, besides which, other Things contributed. First, The Example of the *Scotts*, then marched into *England* against the King with an Army; the manifest Combination with them of the *English* Puritans, then highly Predominant, by Reason of other Circumstances, in the two Houses of Parliament; which, if prevailing, the Destruction of the *Irish* and Catholick Religion must follow. And as those Things, with other Circumstances, might give the most Reasonable amongst them Cause enough to be troubled; so wanted They no Provocation from Those, who sat then at the Helm of the Government, and were totally of the Parliament Faction. But as there is no Cruelty like that of Slaves, when they get the upper Hand; of which we have divers Examples, both *Roman*, *Grecian* and *Carthaginian*, so those People had no sooner shaken off their Fetters, but they did run hastily and furiously to all kind of bloody Executions; and as their Rebellion was without Order, so were their Actions without Measure; none that was called *English*, and was within Reach, escaping their Fury; nor in this first Heat was the Name of Catholick a Protection, but all went together; so that, in

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Ulster;

Ulster, Connaught, some Part of Munster, and generally all Places without the English Pale, they either killed the English, or forced them to forsake their Habitations: After getting into Bodies, they assailed the Castles and Houses of such of their Catholick Country-men (which were in great Numbers) as would fain have been Quiet, and continued their Obedience to the English Government: Those petitioned the Council at Dublin, either to be protected, or to have Arms given them, whereby they might protect themselves; but being neglected, both in the one, and in the other, and fearing that the Faults of a Part, would be imputed to the Whole, and consequently the Innocent suffer with the Guilty; made thus desperate, they did for the most part join with the rest, as well those of English as Irish Extraction, amongst whom were many of very good Quality; and getting into some Form, raised Something like an Army, but were from time to time beaten by the English, though in far less Numbers, partly for Want of Arms and Ammunition, of which they were exceedingly destitute; partly, that they trusted more to their Heels than their Hands, which last may proceed of several Causes: As that no Servile Nation were ever good Soldiers, until Custom and Success had given them Spirit; that they are (it may be) the best Footmen in the World; that they have so many Boggs and Fastnesses well known unto them, by which they hope to escape; but whatsoever the Reason was, they had almost ever the Worst of the English, even when they were better Officer'd, and wanted neither

neither Ammunition nor Arms, until the King (as hath been formerly mentioned) called away that Army, which had, with his Consent, been employed against them by the Parliament; and which had more than sufficiently revenged all the Evils committed even by the most Guilty, leaving nothing of Cruelty, either on their Bodies, or Estates, unexecuted; this being the Difference, that the one was done by a rude headless Multitude; the other, by Soldiers under Order and Command. From the Beginning they had endeavoured to put themselves into a kind of Government, by assembling the Nation together, according to the Form before used in their Parliaments, brought in by the *English*, consisting of the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons; chusing Knights and Burgeses out of such Places as were of their Party, or not in the actual Possession of their Enemies: This Assembly made divers Acts or Ordinances, causing a Declaration to be printed, expressing the Motives of their taking Arms, wherein they mention the principal to be the Defence of the Catholick Religion, the King's just Prerogatives, his Person, and the Queen's, with their Liberties, &c. against the Puritans and Sectarists, &c. as may appear in their Declaration, set out in May 1642. To which was added, an Oath for all People to take to the same Purpose. They also formed that Body, which they called the Supreme Council of the Confederates, consisting of some of every State, Nobility, Clergy, and Commons, about four and twenty in Number, which during the Intervals of the Assemblies, had a kind of li-

mitted Government and Power, to call the Assembly on Occasion: In the mean time, as hath been said, their Armies had commonly the Worst; yet, my Lord of *Castlehaven*, their General for *Munster*, did them some good Services; as also, *Preston* their General for *Leinster*, though the latter was overthrown by my Lord of *Ormond* in a great Battel near *Rosse*; which Misfortune, it may be, made them first think of employing *Oneale*, who before had been seen walking up and down *Kilkenny* alone and unconsidered; for even then the Supreme Council, whereof the major Part were old *English* Men of States and Fortunes, gotten by their Ancestors from the *Irish*, had no Mind that *Oneale*, or any of the ancient Possessors, should get into Command; but now, Necessity **inforcing** to make use of all Hands, and almost ashamed to deny him, who, beside the Antiquity of his Extraction, had the Fame of a very good Soldier, as having long served under the *Spaniard*, in Places of considerable Command; they made him their General of *Ulster*, then wholly possess'd by the *Scotts* and *English*, except *Charlemont*, which Sir *Philome Oneale*, in the Beginning of their Rebellion, had surprized and fortified. Notwithstanding which, he soon got an Army out of that Province, and some other Places; very many of the old *Irish*, ranging themselves under him, and became so considerable, as not long after he durst encounter *Monroe*, General for the Parliament of that Province, and in a great Battel overthrew him, with very great Slaughter of his Men, and the taking all his Baggage. Not long before this,

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while these Things were in Agitation; of the one Side a Nuncio was come from the Pope, who to that Purpose had been petitioned, by the whole Catholick Party of the Nation; and on the other Side, the then Earl of Glamorgan, now Marquis of Worcester, with Commission and Instructions from the King, to advance and conclude a Peace with the *Irish*, with whom my Lord of Ormond had from time to time continued Cessations: Accordingly my Lord of Worcester proceeded so far, as he, for the King, and certain Commissioners appointed for that Purpose by the *Irish*, concluded a Peace; whereby on the one Part, there was convenient Provision made for Catholick Religion, and Indemnity of the Nation: And on the other, an Army of *Irish* was to be levied, and sent for the King's Assistance into *England*; the Conditions of which Peace were to be concealed; the King, it seems, fearing that their untimely Revealing, might Prejudice him with his Protestant Subjects; so that very few Copies of the Original being dispersed, yet it so happened, that one of them was found (as it was said) in the Archbishop of *Thune* his Pocket, slain by the *Scottish* Forces, and sent to the Parliament of *England*; which coming to my Lord Lieutenant's Knowledge, the Earl of Worcester, ignorant of the Matter, was, by Letters, invited to *Dublin*; where, accused by my Lord Digby, the King's principal Secretary, and then present, of having concluded that Peace without sufficient Authority, he was made Prisoner in the Castle of *Dublin*, and not long after releas'd upon a Bail of 40000*l*.

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to appear and answer the Accusation, whensoever he should be called; the King in the mean Time, by his Declaration, disclaiming my Lord of *Worcester's* Act. After which the Cessations being continued from time to time, and certain Conditions for a Peace offered by my Lord of *Ormond*, an Assembly was called, where the greater Part of the Laity was for accepting those Conditions, though thereby Catholick Religion was not so provided for, as in the Peace made with my Lord of *Worcester*; and though opposed by the Nuncio, and most of the Clergy, yet was it carried in the Affirmative, that the Temporal Part of the Peace being Satisfactory, there should be no Mention of the Spiritual, but they would trust the King's Goodness; rather making Choice of that, than to have the Abolition only of the Penal Laws expressed, which by the Lord Lieutenant was, in the King's Name offered; and so some Plenipotentiary Commissioners were authorized to conclude, which the Nuncio finding himself not able to hinder, all he could obtain was, a Delay of the Signing and Sealing until *May*; pretending that there was an Agreement made by the Pope, with the Queen of *England's* consent at *Rome*, which he hoped would be sent to him before that time, wherein the Splendor and Safety of Catholick Religion was more amply provided for, than it had been with the Conclusion made with the Earl of *Worcester*. But the Time prefix'd being come, and no News of the other Agreement from *Rome*, the Commissioners did Sign and Seal the Peace; and all that followed thereon I mentioned

tioned before, this only excepted, that not long after, the Commissioners, who had signed the Peace, were accused of not having done their Duty, nor discharged their Trust, and therefore imprisoned; and an Assembly being called, the Acts done by the Ecclesiastical Authority were confirmed, and the Peace voted invalid; though at the same Time the imprisoned Commissioners were set at Liberty, and declared Innocent.

But now methinks the Reader should wonder at all those strange Turns; nor will I undertake to satisfy him, in giving my Judgment of the Reasons, having resolved in the shortest Method I could, to let down only Matters of Fact; from which yet, my hope is, I shall not be thought to vary, if I here relate, what I have heard the Nuncio, and those of his Party say, in their Justification: For, what hath been said on the other Side is in Print, lately written, as it is reported, by one Doctor *Calligan*, eloquently, and in very good Latin.

First, the Nuncio says, that the Pope, though he was from time to time informed of the merciless Proceedings of the *English* Parliament against the whole *Irish* Nation, for the tumultuous Rebellion of a Part; thereby demonstrating, it was not so much their Fault, as their Religion, which they meant to punish; yet he had no Intention otherwise to meddle in the Business, than by his Prayers for them, until his Aid and Assistance was importuned by the Vote of the whole Nation Catholick, which, as the Common Father of the Church, he could not deny.

That

That himself being chosen to this Imployment, all the Instructions he had from the Pope, tended to those two Ends: First, the Preservation and Increase of Catholick Religion; then, the settling the *Irish* Nation in their due Obedience to the King. Concerning which two Instructions, there was no Prudent Man, let him be of what Religion he will, but must believe the Pope did intend, the first should be first done.

That at his coming into *Ireland*, he found the *Irish* generally inclining to a Peace with the Royal Party; of which some considered the Interest of Religion more, and some less.

That for his Part, none desired that Peace more than he, being a main Part of his Instructions, provided that Religion were first provided for. That it was true, he had to the uttermost of his Power, together with the Clergy, opposed the Conclusion of that Peace, agitated in the Assembly of the *Irish*, *January* 1646, because by it there was no Provision at all for Religion, nor the Church; as also, that when he could not hinder the Vote made for it, he procured a Delay of the Signing and Sealing, until *May* following, and of the Publication until *July*, in Hopes that before that time, he should hear of some Agreement made between the Queen of *England*, and his Holiness at *Rome*, where it was then in Agitation, as he could make appear.

That my Lord Lieutenant being not to be perswaded from publishing the Peace, and attempting to second the Publication with Force, he

he had proceeded to Excommunication of all the Adherers to it, and opposed Force with Force.

That he was so far from denying or extenuating any Thing he had done, as he should neither have performed the Trust reposed in him, nor his Duty to the Pope and Catholick Religion; if he had done otherwise; to which, besides many other Reasons, those which principally induced him were,

That it was apparent to all such as had sought to inform their Understandings, concerning the modern Differences amongst Christians, that of all the Sects in Rebellion against the Government of the *Roman* Church, none hath been transported with so much Rancour and Malice to Catholicks and Catholick Religion, as those; to whose Heresies, *Calvin* gave a Beginning.

That the whole *Scottish* Nation, to speak generally, and the governing Part in the *English* Parliament, who at this Day both drive one and the same Interest, consist totally and absolutely of those Sectarists.

That the King hath always seconded his Hopes of being restored to his Rights, rather on an Agreement and Accord to be made with them; than either Conquering or Beating them into their Duties; as may appear by all his Proclamations, Declarations, and Messages so often sent for Treaties, and in the Treaties themselves.

That in all the Declarations and Messages sent from the Parliament, and in all those Treaties had been with the King, this Demand was principally insisted on; *viz.* the Distinction of

Catholicks, and Catholick Religion, in *England* and *Ireland*, and in the last, under the Name of Rebels, in which, generally speaking, they would have included all the Catholick Natives, the Extirpation of the Nation: That as the Recovery of his Crown and Dignity, with the Preservation of his Church, was the King's principal Interest; so was he not to hope his attaining in any Degree to both, or either, by any Accord to be made with those Sectaries, but by consenting to divers their Demands, though never so much contrary to his Inclination and Justice; of which, one and the principal, on which they did and would still insist, was the last above-mentioned concerning Catholicks.

That these Premisses had been so well known to the King and his Ministers, as it had been the true Reason, why he would never treat of any Peace with his *Irish* Subjects, until the desperate Condition of his Affairs compelled him: Neither then would he treat or conclude with them in avowed or exprefs Terms, concerning the Particular of Religion; because he would not do, what he should again be forced to undo: And therefore did he send the Earl of *Worcester*, a great Nobleman of *England*, and a Catholick, into *Ireland*, with private Commissions and Instructions, authorizing him to make a Clandestine Peace with the *Irish*, therein including their Satisfaction concerning Religion; which if discovered, he might, at his Pleasure, disavow, as after it came to pass, when by the Accident of finding the Copy of that Peace in the Bishop
of

of *Thume's* Pocket, (if at least that Story be true) it came to his Parliament's Knowledge.

That this Means having failed, and his Affairs in *England* still pressing more and more, he made use of my Lord of *Ormond's* Power and Faction in the Kingdom, to force those that would not assent to such a Peace as he would have: Which Game my Lord of *Ormond* play'd so dexterously, especially, in making use of the Divisions, betwixt the Old and New *Irish*, thereby setting Catholick against Catholick, many preferring that Interest, before the Splendor and Dignity of their Religion, as that shameful Peace (to use his own Words) was at last concluded, himself and the Clergy in vain opposing; besides a great Number of the Laity: Wherein, what Shuffling, Breach of Promise, and Betraying of Trust had been used, would be too long to speak of. That the Motive, which had induced so many of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry to vote that Peace, and which the Principal of that Faction used to perswade the others, was, that the King would make good those Conditions granted by the Earl of *Worcester*, with his Commissions and Authority, however he had been forced, for the Satisfaction of his other Protestant Subjects, openly to disavow them; and which was secretly implied by those Words in the Peace, of referring Conditions for Religion unto the King's good Will and Pleasure.

That before the Sealing, and long before the Publication of the Peace, the King had voluntarily cast himself into the Power and Mercy

of the *Scottish* Army, where he was detained as a Prisoner, and thereby rendered incapable of the Power, if he had the Will, ever to satisfy that Expectation. To conclude, the Catholick *Irish*, that were a hundred for one Protestant, had always been so desirous of uniting themselves under the Royal Authority, as if his Majesty would in any Time, being at Liberty, and *Sui Juris*, have given his Royal Assent to their just Petitions and Demands for Religion, and their Churches, with what belonged unto them, they had so much Confidence in his Justice and Goodness, as they would have insisted on no other Security for the Thing granted, than his Royal Word and Promise: But now, that he had put himself into the Power of his, and their mortal Enemies, where he was Prisoner, and consequently unable to Protect them, and out of whose Hands he should never get, but by a Composition made to their Destruction; there was left no imaginable Way to secure any Accord should be made, but by giving them a Catholick Governor; such a one, as he himself should have just Reason to trust; of which he had many Noble *English* Men, and of them they would refuse none. For, as for my Lord of *Ormond*, they neither would, nor ever could think themselves secure under him; who if he were so valuable, as to be esteemed more than the Union of all that Nation under his Obedience; if through that, there came Inconvenience to his Affairs; it was not their Fault, the Law of God in Conservation of their Religion, not a Religion founded but Yesterday, in the Opinion of particular

particular Men, but a Religion they had received from their Ancestors Time out of Mind; and the Law of Nature in preserving their Throats from Cutting, being above all other Laws whatsoever. To all this my self did then make such Objections, as I could remember: As, that it was no Wonder, if the King were backward in relying or trusting on them, who had not only rebelled, but in their Rebellion had proceeded with such Cruelty against his *English* Protestant Subjects amongst them.

That the King, and all other *English*, had Cause to suspect General *Oneale*, and those that adhered to him, to have Design for Extirpation of the *English*, shaking off the Government, and drawing in the *Spaniard*.

That the King was no Enemy to Catholics; but being to rely upon his Protestant Subjects for Re-establishment into his Throne, he durst not seem to favour them, but was forced to pretend to the Contrary.

That the Church of *England* purely considered, and abstracted from those other Sects, did agree in that which was Essential to *Catholick* Religion, in most of their Tenets, and did acknowledge herself to be descended from the *Catholicks*, and from them to have received both the Scriptures, and their Ordination of Bishops and Priests.

That it was not to be wonder'd at, if the King sought an Agreement with his Parliament, rather than to continue a Civil War, which must destroy so many of his Subjects, and of which the Event is always doubtful.

That

That concerning the King's Declaration against, and disavowing his Commissions given to the Earl of *Worcester*; First, it was but a bare Affirmation of the Earl's, that the Commissions were such; the Business passing only between the King and him. Secondly, those Commissions, were either all, or for the most Part, Blanks; which if the Earl did fill up otherwise than he should, the King was not bound to justify; and as the principal Reason that moved the King, to send him into *Ireland*, was, to appear in granting such Things concerning Religion, wherein my Lord of *Ormond* would not; so was he not to do any Thing therein, but with my Lord of *Ormond's* Knowledge and Consent.

That it was not strange, if when the King thought fit to make a Peace with the *Irish*, he ought to make such a one, as he thought might conduce, and be most advantageous to him, in the present Condition wherein he was, to which the Grants of their Demands for Religion in that Conjunction of Time, had been as he conceived, so destructive, as it would have made his other *Protestant* Subjects, fall from his Obedience, and leave to assist him in the Recovery of his Regal Power, and Authority; and therefore he made use of my Lord of *Ormond*, his Governor of that Kingdom, to produce such a Peace, as he might justify: In contriving of which, by all such Means, as his Interest in that Kingdom gave him, my Lord of *Ormond* had done but his Duty to the King in obeying his Orders and Commands, and to his own
Conscience,

Conscience, being a *Protestant*, not to give his Consent, that the *Roman* Bishops and Clergy should be possessors of the Churches, and Church Livings in *Ireland*; and consequently, his own Bishops and Clergy excluded; which was also the King's Care.

That the late Peace, advantageous, or disadvantageous, or however it was brought to pass, was on the one Side concluded by Authority of the great Seal of *England*; and on the other, by the Assent of the major Part of the Votes, orderly taken in an Assembly of the *Irish* Nation, according to their own Constitutions; by which, Power was given to those Commissioners of their own Choice, to conclude a Peace; who according to the Commissions given them (which were extant) had proceeded; which Peace so made, no after Accidents could invalidate, for so all Agreements, and Contracts made in the World, would be little to the Purpose: And therefore, the Allegations made of the King's putting himself into the Power of the *Scotts*, and the Consequences like to grow thereby, were not effectual.

That if they thought themselves unsecure under the Government of my Lord of *Ormond*, because he was a *Protestant*, which Objection might also be made against the King himself, how much more Cause had the King to doubt his own Security, being now in the Hands of his Parliament, if he should avowably give them a *Catholick* Governor? And therefore they should do well, not to exact any such Thing from him, which he could not do,
either

either with the Safety of his Crown or Person.

To all this it was replied, that as no Rebellion is justifiable, so was there never any more excusable than that of the *Irish*, for the Matter, though not for the Manner; for their Rebellion was not against the King, but against their Fellow Subjects, and mortal Enemies to them, and to their Religion, who under the Name of a Parliament, had then actually in their Pay, an Army of *Scottish* Rebels; by the Terror of which, they did as it were, hold a Dagger at the King's Throat, forcing his Consent to such pernicious Demands as they suggested to him: And for the Manner, as it was not defensible, so was it that, which all Governors must expect from Those, whom they hold in the Nature of Slaves, and not of Subjects, which was the *Irish* Condition; which reckoning yet they had paid to the uttermost Farthing, the *English* Army sent thither by the Parliament, not only exceeding them in all inhuman Acts of Cruelty, but indeed all others that we have heard, or read of.

That General *Oneale* his Power, was wholly derived from the Nuncio and Clergy, from whom he principally received the Means of levying and paying his Men, who if they were satisfied in their Demands for Religion, he would yield to reasonable Conditions. And concerning that of bringing in the *Spaniard*, it was a Bugbear to affright Children; all wise Men being too well acquainted with the *Spanish* Condition at that Time, who had too much on

his

his Hands already, to embroil himself with a new War; that being an Invention of the *French* Agents in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, who sought all they might to divert the King from putting himself on the Assistance of his *Catholick* Subjects, but rather to embrace that of the *Scots* their ancient Allies; as also, out of this Supposition, that the *Irish* and *English* *Catholicks* are more affected to the *Spaniards*, than to the *French*; and consequently, if the King should be by their Means re-established, his Inclinations would lead that Way.

That, how the King's Affections to *Catholicks* stood, they did not know, but this was manifest, that if he could have compounded with his Parliament, he would have sacrificed them all.

That they could not distinguish the Church of *England* from the Rest, neither by their Writings, nor Actions; for out of no Country, since the Beginning of these modern Heresies, had issued Books more virulent against the Pope, and *Catholick* Religion, written by Bishops and Doctors of that Church; neither was there any Place in the World, where such cruel Laws had been made, and put in Execution against Priests, and *Catholicks* of the same Nation, as those made by Men living in, and under the Government and Communion of that Church.

That no Man can doubt, but my Lord of *Worcester's* Commissions were real, all signed with the King's Hand and Seal, in which he promised on the Word of a King, to make good whatsoever he should conclude; and that my

Lord of *Worcester* was ready to justify, that he had exactly followed his Instructions; and particularly, that concerning my Lord Lieutenant, whom he had made acquainted with all, that he transacted with the *Irish*, of which he could produce Proof.

That not only in his Opinion, but in the Opinion of others as wise, and who wished the King's Re-establishment as much as any; the surest Way to that Re-establishment had been, by granting their just Demands for Religion, to rely on the Assistance of his *Catholick* Subjects, which Demands only extended to a Toleration in *England*, and the Face of the Church settled in *Ireland*, without imposing any Thing on himself, or *Protestant* Subjects, who should be as free amongst them, as themselves; nor refusing to joyn with any his other Subjects of what Religion soever, in his Assistance for Recovery of his Authority, and all those Privileges enjoy'd by his Ancestors; which Assistance as it was more certain, being to come from People in Union; so was it more powerful, not only consisting in *Ireland*; which if the King had been pleased to take a Course accordingly, would soon in Spight of all his Enemies and theirs, have been united in his Obedience; but also in the Pope, who in his Particular, would have contributed much himself; and both would and could in that, have joined all the Clergy, in all the Christian Countries.

That as the King's Counsels and theirs, on whom he rely'd, have always gone upon contrary Principles, the Effects of which have been

been, that he is now fain to submit himself to the Mercy, and throw himself, as it were, at the Feet of those, who had been the Beginneers and Contrivers of all his Mistortunes; who had branded his Person and Family with the basest Slanders; and being his Enemies, and the Enemies of his Church, were also the most mortal and irreconcilable Enemies of Catholicks and Catholick Religion. So no Body must think it strange, that now he had left himself in a State, no longer to be able to Protect them, if they sought their own Preservation, which could not be, but by having a Catholick Governor.

These Reasons, with others to the same purpose, I heard sometimes from the Nuncio, sometimes from the Bishop of *Cobar*, esteemed one of the ablest Men of that Nation; which how effectual they are, I leave to the Reader's Consideration; who out of them may possibly draw something, which may the better make him to judge of the whole Matter. And now to say something briefly of my Lord of *Insequeen*, who being of that ancient Family of the *Obrians*, a Young Man of Spirit and Courage; when the *English* Army sent by the King and Parliament first came over, had raised a very good Regiment, and done considerable Service against his Countrymen: After, when that Army was recalled, he in Person came into *England*, together with his Regiment, intending, as it seems, to serve the King; but whether distasted for being refused, the Presidentship of *Munster* being, as I have heard, promised to the Earl of *Portland*; or inclinable to the Presbyterian Facti-

on, which is no impossible Supposition, having been bred under Sir *William St. Leger*, President of *Munster*, whose Daughter he Married; whatsoever the Cause was, he returned into his Country, and there took up Arms for the Parliament, by whom he was made their President of *Munster*. And having, with the Help of the Lord *Brobill*, Son to the Earl of *Corke*, possess'd himself of *Togball*, *Kingsale* and *Corke*, whereof two are Haven Towns, all considerable in *Munster*, he did, with Assistance of Men and Money from the *English* Parliament, make War on the Confederates, who lay nearest in his Way, prevailing often upon them, and taking divers Towns and Castles, whilst I was there. And after the Surrender of *Dublin*, and before my coming away, in a pitch'd Battle, being given by Consent of both Sides in mutual Letters, overthrew my Lord *Tafte*, then General for the Confederates, with his Army, killing many, amongst the rest, that famous *Alexander Macdonnel*, otherwise *Coll-kite*, and taking many Prisoners, with much Baggage, and in that Victory, breaking the very Heart of the Confederates Affairs: This falling out not long after *Preston's* Overthrow by *Foxes*, which I mention, because there is nothing of it in the Discourse before, to which it was not pertinent.

And now for Sir *Charles Coote* and *Monroe*, I shall not need to say much more of them, than I have already, more than that the first was the Son of that Sir *Charles Coote*, Provost Marshal of *Ireland*, of whom it is said, that he would bid his *Irish* Prisoners blow in his Pistol, and then

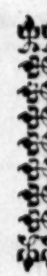
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then would discharge it. *Monroe*, an *Irish Scot*, as I think was he, to whom the Faction in the *English* Parliament would willingly have con-
signed the Command of the Army, sent over against the *Irish*; but that being opposed by the rest, it was carried for *Parsons*, and *Borlacie*, their then Commissioners for the Government of *Ireland*; which in Effect was all one, as to their Purpose.

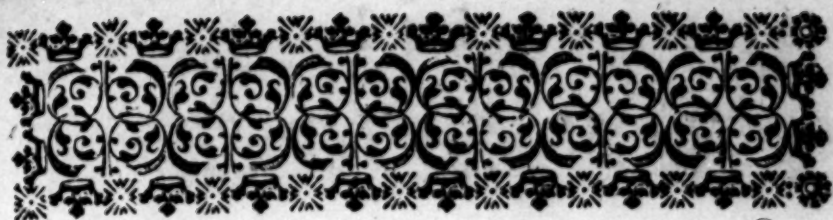




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A
DISCOURSE

Of my Journey into

I R E L A N D,

And my Employment there!

 **H**IS Majesty, the late King my Master, being a Prisoner at *Holmby*, and all Negotiations for his Deliverance and Re-establishment being rendred fruitless; it was thought fit by the Queen, and Prince of *Wales*, with their Council, that some Body should be sent into *Ireland*, with Letters and Instructions to my Lord of *Ormond*, for the Settling of a Peace in that Kingdom; and for that Purpose, I was by her Majesty chosen, and accordingly received these Instructions following, signed by the Queen.

Her

Her Majesty's Instructions.

I. **Y**OU shall with all convenient Speed imbarke your self for the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and after your Arrival there, you shall with all possible Speed repair to the Place, where you shall understand the Lord Lieutenant and Lord *Disby* to be, and to them you shall deliver all such Letters, as are directed to them from Us and the Prince.

II. You shall inform the said Lord Lieutenant, how sensible We and the Prince are of the present Troubles of that Kingdom, as well in Consideration of the King's Affairs in general, as particularly out of the Apprehension of the great and imminent Danger, that may thereby happen to those, which yet remain under the Obedience of him the said Lord Lieutenant; and how desirous We and the Prince are, to contribute all that is in our Power, to reconcile the Things in Question, between the said Lord Lieutenant, and the Confederate Catholick Subjects in *Ireland*; whereby all of them may be firmly united under the Authority of our dearest Lord the King; and thereby enabled to defend themselves against the Common Enemy, and seasonably assist the King in his other Dominions.

III. You shall shew unto the Lord Lieutenant all the Papers and Dispatches wherewith you are charged, and particularly our Letter to the Nuncio now in *Ireland*, and the Clergy; as likewise,

wise, these your Instructions: And you shall, from Us and the Prince, acquaint the Lord Lieutenant, that these Preparations, as likewise all that is hereafter mentioned to be agitated by you with the Nuncio, Clergy and Confederate Catholick Subjects of that Kingdom, are not intended as any conclusive Opinions from hence; much less, as any positive Directions from Us and the Prince; but are only propounded by Us to the Lord Lieutenant, as probable Expedients to be considered of, resolved, varied, used or rejected by the Lord Lieutenant, as he upon the Place (best able to judge) shall think fit.

IV. You shall likewise acquaint the said Lord Lieutenant from Us, and from the Prince, that if he shall think fit to make use of any of these Expedients, before, or hereafter mentioned; or to direct the Delivery of any the said Letters or Dispatches; or to appoint you to pursue all or any of these Instructions, or any others; that the said Lord Lieutenant shall give you in their stead; that then both We and the Prince will always avow and justify the same, as Our Advice and Directions, in such Manner as the said Lord Lieutenant shall propound, and think proper for the Service.

V. When the said Lord Lieutenant shall have read and considered of the said Letters and Dispatches, you shall either deliver them according to their Addresses, or suppress them as he, the Lord Lieutenant, shall think fit; and you shall in Our Name, and the Name of the Prince, deliver Civilities to any Person, or Persons; ac-

ording as he, the said Lord Lieutenant, shall advise you: As likewise, you shall vary from, and pursue the rest of your Instructions in such Manner, and only in such Manner, as the Lord Lieutenant shall think fit; and in all other Things, you shall govern your self according to the Advice and Orders of the said Lord Lieutenant.

VI. If he, the said Lord Lieutenant, shall direct you to repair to the Nuncio, or the Assembly of the Clergy, or to the Supreme Council of the *Irish*, or to their General Assembly now met at *Kilkenny*, you shall, upon all Occasions, when your Discretion shall think fit, publish, avow, and declare, the great Inclinations, which We and the Prince have, to contribute effectually all that shall be proper for Us and Him, to the speedy concluding a happy Peace in *Ireland*; and how willing and desirous We and the Prince are to advance that good Work, as well by Our Mediation with the King in their Behalf (as there shall be Cause) as otherways in what We may.

VII. You shall further let them know, how seasonable to the King's Affairs, a good Conclusion of a Peace in *Ireland* would be; as also, upon all fit Occasions you shall press and insist upon the Necessity of it, with Relation to themselves, and the great Honour and Advantage, which the whole *Irish* Nation will have by such a Peace; and on the contrary, what Use the Common Enemy will make of the Continuance of these Distractions, even to the endangering
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of the whole Nation and Catholick Religion there.

VIII. You shall apply your self, as you shall see Cause, to such Persons amongst the *Irish*, as you shall find to have Credit and Power amongst them, and Inclinations to conclude a Peace upon more moderate Conditions; and shall let them know from Us and the Prince, how acceptable to the King, Our Self, and the Prince, such their Endeavours are, and will be; and how ready We will be, really to express Our good Acceptance of their Service therein, by such Marks of Our Favours, as shall be most suitable to their Condition, and most proper for them to receive.

These were one Sort of Instructions I received, which were not to be kept so private, but that they were in some Cases communicable: These that follow not so.

Private Instructions.

I. **Y**OU shall deliver to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Fourteen Blanks now given into your Possession by Us and the Prince; Two whereof are jointly Signed by Us and the Prince; Six others are Signed by Us alone, and the other Six by the Prince alone.

II. You shall acquaint the Lord Lieutenant, that We and the Prince do authorize and appoint him, to fill up all the said Blanks in such Manner, and to such Purpose, and with such

Contents, as he shall think most proper for the Service of our dearest Lord the King in his *Irish* Affairs: And you shall assure him, the said Lord Lieutenant, that as We and the Prince repose this Trust and Confidence in him, that he shall make such Use of them, as he shall think fit, for the Advancement of the Peace in *Ireland*; so will both of Us at all Times avow and justify those Instruments so to be filled up by him, as Our own Acts, and as done by Our particular Directions and Command.

III. You shall more particularly acquaint the Lord Lieutenant from Us and the Prince, that if in the Treaty of the Peace, or in the Conclusion thereof, he desires to be assisted with any further Authority, grounded upon any Letters sent to him from the King, or otherwise in Our Power, then We desire him the said Lord Lieutenant, to fill up the Blanks Signed by Us or the Prince, or any other of the said Blanks Signed either by Us or the Prince, with such Authority from Us, or from Us and the Prince, or from the Prince only, in such Manner as he shall find most proper and conducing to such a Peace.

IV. You shall likewise particularly acquaint him, the Lord Lieutenant, that if he shall find it proper for the Advancement of the Peace there, that your self, or your self with any others now in *Ireland*, should in Our Name and authorized by Us, repair to the General Assembly now held at *Kilkenny*, or the Supreme Council of the *Irish*, or to any other Body, or Persons, with the Overtures of a Treaty, or any
Parti-

Particulars, in order to, concerning or conducing to the same, Our Desire is, and We hereby authorize him the said Lord Lieutenant accordingly, that he should fill up one or more of the said Blanks signed by Us, in the Nature of a Commission, Letters or Instructions, with such Authority from Us, and in such Manner, as he shall think fit; and that he would accordingly, insert the Name of such Person, or Persons, as he shall think fit to be joyned with you, in this Employment from Us.

V. You shall acquaint the Lord Lieutenant, that upon Advertisement of the Restraint made on the Person of the King at *Newcastle*, We enter'd into a serious Debate of his Affairs; and particularly considering of the Proposition made to Us formerly by the Lord *Digby*, when he came from *Ireland*; and that thereupon, both We, and the Prince do much incline to the Opinion then delivered to Us by the Lord *Digby*; That after a Peace made in *Ireland*, it will be fit for the Prince in Person to repair to *Ireland*; and there, by his Presence, to unite that Nation under the King's Authority, and employ Forces from thence for his Assistance, as his Affairs in *England* and *Scotland* shall require. Therein you are to desire the Lord *Digby* from Us, and from the Prince, to send Us speedily his Opinion and Advice: And if he shall approve those Propositions, that he order his Business accordingly.

VI. You are to acquaint the Lord Lieutenant with the Proposition made to Us by
the

the Earl of *Craford* in the Name of the Marquis of *Montross* himself, and many other Persons of Quality and Condition in the Highlands of *Scotland*; and shall thereupon assure him, that Our Zeal to serve the King in the Recovery of his Liberty, and Defence of his Crown, now in Hazard, is such, that if the Design (after the Peace shall be made in *Ireland*, and that Nation shall appear in Arms for the King's Assistance) shall be approved by his Judgment, as the most probable to attain the End aforesaid; We shall be willing to give Our Consent to the pious Inclinations and Desires of the Prince, to expose his Person to all the Danger and Accidents, that are to be expected in such an Attempt, in hope thereby, to bring real Succours to the Distresses of the King his Father: In the mean Time you are to propound, to the Lord *Digby* Our Opinion; that the *Irish* should be encouraged all that may be, to send such sufficient Succours to the Earl of *Antrim* in *Scotland*, as may continue a Footing there, and so confirm the King's Party in that Kingdom, as to render that Design practicable, when it shall be proper to attempt it.

VII. These Particulars you are to communicate to none but the Lord *Digby*, and Lord *Clanriccard*; unless the Lord Lieutenant shall think fit to give you other Orders concerning the same.

Then follows the Prince's Approbation of all the Instructions of both Sorts; with his Command

mand to put them in Execution, in these Words.

Charles, Pr.

We have perused, and do fully approve of your Instructions, bearing Date herewith, and signed by our Royal Mother ; and do appoint and authorize you, so far as you shall find Us named therein, to put the same in Execution.

Charles, Pr.

We have perused, and do fully approve of your private Instructions, bearing Date herewith, signed by our Royal Mother ; and do hereby appoint and authorize you, so far as you shall find Us named therein, to put the same in Execution.

With these Instructions, and many Letters, not only to my Lord Lieutenant, Lord Clarricard, and Lord Digby ; but also from the Queen to the Nuncio, and Clergy, to Oneale and Preston, with all the considerable Persons then amongst the Irish, I parted from Paris about the 16th of March, 1647, in Company of my Lord of Craford mentioned in the Instructions. At Orleans finding by Letters, as also by the Print from London sent after me, that my Lord of Ormond was deeply engaged in a Treaty with the Parliament, so as possible I might not be able to come to him at all, if
Dublin

Dublin were surrendred before my Arrival; and in that Case having Nothing in my Instructions, I took the Boldness to write to her Majesty, desiring to know what it was her Pleasure I should then do, if that should so fall out, to which at Nantz, I received this Answer.

TRusty and well Beloved We greet you well; upon Consideration of what you writ unto Us since your Departure, We have thought fit hereby to signify unto you, that at your Arrival in Ireland, if you find the City of Dublin besieged in such Sort, as you cannot have Access to Our Right Trusty, and entirely Beloved Cousin, the Marquis of Ormond, or that it be surrendred to the Rebels; in such Case, you forbear not the present Delivery of your Letters to the Nuncio, and Confederate Catholicks of Ireland, to whom We have written by you; and you are to assure them from Us, that as the Consideration of the Service of our dearest Lord the King, and the Interest of Catholick Religion, hath continually inclined Us, most passionately to desire the Peace of that Kingdom; so is there nothing that may conduce therein to their Satisfaction and Security, wherein We will not contribute Our best and promptest Assistance. You shall not fail before long, to receive farther Directions from Us; in the mean Time, you are to pursue those We have already given you, and execute the same with all possible Diligence; whereof, We remain Confident: And so We commit you to the Protection of the Almighty. From the Loure at Paris, March the 19th, 1647. With this Letter

Letter I received another from the Secretary as follows:

S I R,

I send you herewith an Answer of your Letter to her Majesty, whereby you will receive full Light and Satisfaction of what you write: And by her Special Command I am to advise you, to make all fitting Application both to the Nuncio, and Others the most considerable Persons amongst the Clergy, to possess them with a real Belief of her Majesty's Cordial and Affectionate Intentions to comply with and further on her Part, whatsoever may set forward the happy Settlement of that Kingdom, to their Satisfaction and Security in Point of Religion; which being her chiefest Aim, and sufficiently provided for, her Majesty expects in the winding up of that Bottom, those fitting Regards towards his Majesty's Affairs, and present Condition, as may justify to her and the World, the Merits of their publick Professions and Proceedings. Her Majesty will be very sensible of particular Deservings in this Kind, and resent them with the uttermost Effects of her Favour, or Mediation for their Desires, &c. March the 19th, Loure.

It was about the latter End of March, that we parted from Nants, (for, no sooner could we find a Passage) in an Irish Merchant's Vessel of some 200 Ton, heavily laden, and without any considerable Danger, more than being very much affrighted, got into Ireland about six or seven Days after at Waterford, and yet so unluckily,

as the Assembly at *Kilkenny*, after it had resolved Things as opposite to the Means of attaining those Ends for which I was come thither, as could be, broke up that Night at Ten of the Clock, which they would not have done, had they first heard of my Landing, for so Mr. *Baron*, who had been Agent here in *France* for the Confederate *Irish*, and to whom I sent a Post so soon as I was in *Waterford*, writ back to me. Indeed, I was very Unfortunate, for the Assembly had both Power and Means to do or undo what they had done, to the Prejudice of a Treaty, which the Supreme Council, limited within Bounds by the Assembly, afterward had not. At *Waterford* I had Notice that my Lord *Digby*, with my Lord of *Castlehaven*, lay secretly within a Mile or two of the Town, ready to set Sail for *France*; to my Lord *Digby* I sent presently, and had Answer, that Mr. *Slingsby*, his Secretary, would be with me the next Morning, which he was, and told me, that he looked for my Lord very soon. I stayed from Sunday until *Wednesday*, in that Expectation, at *Waterford*, which is but twenty Miles from *Kilkenny*; but then fearing to give the Council Jealousy, who at that Time beheld my Lord *Digby* as their Enemy, and who was come secretly into their Quarters without a Pass, I parted toward *Kilkenny*, my Lord of *Craford* being gone before, where the next Morning I was, by Mr. *Baron*, brought to the Council; to whom (after they had caused me to sit in a Chair, not far from my Lord of *Antrim* their President, nor would they hear me until I had done so) I delivered the Cause

Cause of my Coming thither, which was, the Queen and Prince's Desire of a Peace in that Kingdom; and for the Queen, she was not only moved to it for the King's Interest, but also by her Zeal to the Catholick Religion, and Good of the People; that for the Catholick Religion, she did not conceive (abstracting from miraculous Providence) how it could be preserved from Ruin, but by a Peace; to which End her Majesty had made Choice of me, a Catholick, before any other, to send thither with Instructions and Letters to my Lord of *Ormond*, who was the King's Lieutenant over that Country, to whom I was first to make my Address: And therefore I had for the present, no other Particulars to communicate with them, more than to desire their Pass, with a Warrant for Post-Horses, and Convoy for my Safety to the Borders of their Quarters. After this, being so advised by Master *Baron*, I did rise and go out, and not long after had Orders for what I desired, and the next Day parted for *Dublin*, being fifty Miles, whither I came the Day after, and was that Night brought to my Lord of *Ormond*, to whom I delivered such Letters as were for him; and then said, 'That I was sure those Letters expressed Civilities from the Queen and Prince, much better than I could; and that therefore I had nothing more now to say, until I had deciphered such Instructions as I had, which were many, and would take up some good Time; and by which his Lordship would find the Confidence her Majesty and the Prince had in him, which was so great,

' as no Reports could shake, though we had
 ' Weekly News of Treaties with the Parlia-
 ' ment, for the Delivery up of those Places un-
 ' der his Command." To which his Lordship
 Replied, ' That Confidence shall never deceive
 ' them; and, that he, who had ventured him-
 ' self, his Wife, and all his Children in the
 ' King's Service, would make no Scruple of ven-
 ' turing or casting away one Son, when there
 ' shall be Cause (this he spake because his Son
 ' was then Hostage with the Parliament) yet if
 ' there be Necessity, he should give up those
 ' Places under his Command rather to the *En-*
 ' *glish* Rebels than the *Irish* Rebels, of which
 ' Opinion he thought every good *English* Man
 ' was." To this I replied nothing, but after
 some Questions and Answers concerning Things
 in *France*, parted from his Lordship to my
 Lodging; and after two Days (for so long it
 was before I could decipher my Instructions, a
 Work to which I had not been accustomed) I
 returned to his Lordship with them, written
 out in mine own Hand, which having read un-
 to him, I gave them, together with the four-
 teen Blanks, into his Lordship's Possession, and
 so returned towards my Lodging; where, by the
 Way, I met with my Lord *Digby* newly alighted,
 who told me he had neglected his Voyage at
 the present for *France*, desirous to see what
 Fruits my coming thither would produce; and
 after I had given him Letters, we parted. The
 next Day being *Wednesday*, I intended to wait
 on my Lord of *Ormond* at Dinner; but at Ele-
 ven of the Clock, I was sent for by my Lord
Digby,

Digby, and told by him, that it was my Lord of *Ormond's* Pleasure I should forthwith go to *Kilkenny*, and move the Council for renewing the Cessation (which would expire on *Saturday* following at Twelve of the Clock) for three Weeks longer, which Order I obeyed; and in the Afternoon, coming to receive my Lord Lieutenant's further Commands, he delivered me the Cessation signed on his Part. I desired to know what I should say, in Case they should object that my Lord did it, but to gain Time, that he might receive more Forces from the Parliament. He answered, I should receive Orders for that on the Way, if, on Consideration, there were Cause. I desired to know his Lordship's Pleasure, what I should do with those Letters I had to the Nuncio, Clergy and Others, with the Confederates; he told me I should follow my Lord *Digby's* Directions. So I parted that Night with my Lord *Digby* to *Leslip*; and there my Lord *Digby* thought fit I should deliver all those Letters. The next Day, on the Way, a Post overtook me from my Lord Lieutenant, with these Letters from his Lordship.

S I R,

ON further Consideration of the Discourse we had Yesterday touching a Cessation, I think fit to give you Power, to undertake to the Confederates Party, that if a Cessation be agreed on, I will not receive, into the Garrisons under my Command, Forces from the Parliament, during three Weeks, to begin from *Saturday* next the 17th of this Month, the Cessation being agreed upon until

until then: But you are desired to use your uttermost Endeavour to procure a Cessation without this Condition, or at least that it be kept private; which last you are to engage them in, before you consent to the said Condition. And so I rest your Affectionate Friend, Ormond. Dublin Castle the 15th of April, 1647.

On Friday I came to Kilkenny, and after Discourse had with the French Agents, Monsieur du Moullin, Monsieur de la Monerie, and Monsieur Tallon, whose Advise I was to receive in it; the next Day in the Morning I moved the Council, from whom I had Answer to this Purpose: That their Army was well advanced on its March to Carlogh, (a strong Castle in my Lord's Quarters) and that they did not know what to do with it for three Weeks, but must so long keep their Army on Foot to no Purpose. But if my Lord would have a Cessation for six Months they would agree. This I returned to my Lord Lieutenant in a Letter, and withal let his Lordship know, that I would wait his further Commands there, at Kilkenny. The Truth is, I had little Delight to be in Dublin, unless I were so commanded, wherein were at least 2000 Parliament Foot, to whom I could be no very welcome Person, the Business I came about being notoriously known; and possibly my Lord was well enough contented with my Absence, since it was in his Power to have called me thither when he pleased; but however it was, I heard no more of his Lordship until about the 6th of May, certain Letters being intercepted from my Lord

Lord of *Ormond*, my Lord *Taffe*, and Colonel *Barie*, to my Lord of *Clanriccard*, by two of which, the two last it might be gathered, that my Lord Lieutenant was in some Doubt to be surprized by the Parliament Forces already at *Dublin*, and those every Day expected to come, before his Conditions and Agreements with the Parliament were performed. Which Letters being shewed me, I took Occasion from thence to move the Council, by letting them know, how good an Opportunity they had to demonstrate their Intentions of returning under the King's Obedience, by sending some Propositions for a Peace to my Lord Lieutenant; who (as it might be gathered by his Letters) might possibly be distressed by the Parliament Forces; and if they would send any such Thing, I would carry it; indeed I was willing to renew a Treaty upon any Terms. They asked me what I would have them send; I desired them to draw up something, and let me see it. Before this I had delivered all my Letters to the Nuncio and Clergy, to the two Generals *Oneale* and *Preston*; to the Marquiss of *Worcester* and *Antrim*, and to my Lord *Muscrey*; my Lord of *Clanriccard*'s, I had sent to him, he being then two or three Days Journey thence, and ready to depart the Kingdom, having hired a Ship for that Purpose, and truly had done it but for me, as I can shew under his Lordship's Hand. Of all which Letters, besides Compliment, the Matter was (as I suppose) Inducements to a Peace, and Credit given me, according to this Desire of mine above mentioned, a Paper was sent to me with

Propo-

Propositions to my Lord Lieutenant. The Propositions were the same, which had been before sent, from the late General Assembly, to his Lordship, and carried by Dr. Fennel and Mr. Baron, but rejected by my Lord, and (as far as I could understand) without any Answer, not so much for the Matter, at least That did not then appear, as for the Circumstances; one of which I remember was, that they were not signed; howsoever it was, the Paper I carried was signed by all the Council, which Paper had Relation to those Propositions, and is as followeth,

IN our humble and dutiful Desires to preserve Dublin, and other Places under the Lord Lieutenant's Command for his Majesty; laying aside all Misunderstanding, though we are obliged to stand upon our Propositions voted in the General Assembly, upon which we are still positive to insist: Nevertheless, We are ready to make good the Propositions for an Accommodation delivered to his Lordship by Geofrie Baron and Gerard Fennel, Esquires; and in Order to an honourable Peace in this Kingdom, upon Knowledge of his Lordship's Exceptions to the said Propositions, or any of them, we will take the same or any other Overture into further due Consideration, so far as may conduce to his Majesty's Service, and Preservation of the Confederate Catholicks and their Religion. And we do in his Majesty's Behalf, make Tender to his Lordship of our Services and best Assistances to maintain Dublin, and the said other Places against the Parliament, and other his Majesty's Enemies. Unto this we desire his Lordship's
Answer

Answer, with that Expedition, that the Weight and Exigence of Affairs do require. The Propositions themselves were as follow.

Overtures for an Accommodation. delivered by Doctor Gerard Fennel, and Geofrie Baron, Esquire, from the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks, the 3d of March 1646.

I. **T**HAT each Party should continue their respective Governments independent of each other, within such Quarters as by the Accommodation shall be agreed on, until a Peace.

II. That both should join in a War both by Sea and Land, against the Enemies of his Majesty and this Nation; and that neither Party shall make Peace, Cessation, or other Agreement, or enter into any Commerce or Traffick with the said Enemies, without the Consent of the other, until a Peace.

III. That *Dublin* and the other Garrisons within your Lordship's Quarter, may be secured against the said Enemies.

IV. That the Confederate Catholicks within the Quarters that shall be agreed on by this Accommodation to be left to your Lordship, shall be secured of the free enjoying of their Religion, Lives, Estates and Liberties.

V. The like for all other Catholicks in the said Quarters.

H

VI. That

VI. That your Lordship shall suffer none to live within your Quarters, but such as shall Swear the Performance of the Accommodation.

VII. That your Lordship shall enjoy the Profit of your Estate in the Quarters of the Confederate Catholicks, paying such Contributions out of it, as the Confederates shall do out of theirs.

VIII. That the Confederates will contribute to the Maintenance of your Lordship's Charge in a competent Way.

IX. That during the Accommodation, no Outlawries be prejudicial.

With the Paper above-mentioned, relating to these Propositions, I departed from *Kilkenny* towards *Leslip* Castle, Sir *Nicholas White's* House, six Miles from *Dublin*, where my Lord *Digby* was; to him I delivered it, who two Days after returning from my Lord Lieutenant with this following Answer, but not signed, my Lord Lieutenant giving the Reason, because the Propositions sent before from the Assembly to him, were not signed.

Answer

Answer to the Overtures from the Confederate Catholicks, sent by Gerard Fennell and Geofrie Baron, Esquires; and likewise, to the last Paper of the 10th of May, 1647, sent by relative to the former.

THE two first Propositions are such, as appear fitter to be treated in a League Offensive and Defensive between neighbouring Princes, than between his Majesty's Governor of a Kingdom, and his Subjects of the same, declined from their Obedience, with whom it is inconsistent with his Majesty's Lieutenant to join, otherwise than by their Return to their Obedience, and Submission to his Majesty's Authority.

To the 3d, when they are thus returned to their Obedience, and have submitted to his Majesty's Authority, it will be then seasonable to consider of securing the Garrisons in this Article mentioned, against all Enemies of his Majesty and the Nation.

That the five other Propositions are such, as may be fit to be considered in Case of a Cessation, which when they shall propose unto us, we shall take into Consideration, and give such Answer thereunto as shall be reasonable.

That since in their last Paper they declare, that they resolve to insist positively upon the Votes of the late Assembly, which, as we under-

stand them, are inconsistent with those Grounds, on which there can be any Hope of ever settling any Peace in this Kingdom. If they have any real Desire of the same, they will take the Courte to be freed from their Obligation of insisting upon those Votes, if any such be upon them; and to be invested with Power to propose such Things, as may with Honour and Safety be hearkened unto.

This last my Lord added, because of their Votes in the Assembly against the last Peace, without Recalling of which, and Submission to the said Peace, my Lord Lieutenant was resolved not to treat with them, on any Terms; and this my Lord *Digby* told me, of whom when I demanded, why my Lord Lieutenant would do nothing in order to those Instructions, with so many Blanks signed by the Queen and Prince, as I had brought him; his Lordship's Reply was, that my Lord Lieutenant was wiser. If I shall deliver my Opinion, it is, that my Lord Lieutenant, having received a legal Commission from the King to conclude a Peace, and that Peace concluded and broken by the *Irish*, he did not think it safe, without a new Authority, as legally founded, to make another Peace, and therefore it was, that my Lord *Digby* answered me he was wiser. I then desired of my Lord *Digby* to know what it was, that my Lord Lieutenant would have; and that he would draw up something for me to carry to the Council, by Way of Proposition to them; to which my Lord consented, and presently writ out a Paper and gave me; but the next Morning, before

fore my Departure, called for it back, saying he was fearful I might be surprized by some Horse on the Way; and therefore I must find some Way to preserve it in my Remembrance, without the Writing; whereupon I was forced to set down two or three Words only in the Beginning of a Line, so to help my Memory, and parted towards *Kilkenny*, and the third Day came to *Clomell* in *Munster*, whither the Council were removed; there I gave them my Lord Lieutenant's Answer, and desired that a Committee might be appointed to speak with me, which was done; and soon after the Bishop of *Limerick*, my Lord *Muscrey*, and Mr. *Nicholas Plunket*, appointed for that Purpose, met me; to whom, after some Discourse, I delivered in this Paper, which I had, as well as my Memory would serve me, drawn up according to my Lord *Digby's* Sense,

*Propositions made by me to the Committee,
about the 18th of May, 1647.*

I. IF you do intend a Submission of the whole Catholick Party to his Majesty's Authority.

II. If you intend to do it by going on the Foot of the former Peace, the only Way which in Possibility is left, either for your Security, or any Body's else, that is to deal with you; the King's Condition being such as it is.

III. If for such other Agreements, as either are in the Marquis of *Clanriccard's* Engagement,

or such further Advantages as may be obtain'd from the Queen and Prince, you will take such Security as may be reasonably devised, and will give the like for what concerneth you.

IV. If you be not enabled of your selves to go thro' with a Peace, you will, when it shall be seasonably propos'd, accord to the Calling of an Assembly.

V. If you will presently in Order to this, send to obtain a Cessation from Month to Month for six Months, one Month only to be known, on reasonable Conditions for both Parties; one whereof I suppose on my Lord's Part will be, such an Enlargement of his Quarters, as may serve for the reasonable Maintenance of his Men, in Case there be a Breach with the Parliament; which Quarters shall be secured to be restored if there be Cause; during which Cessation, Things may be negociated in *France*, with the Queen and Prince; mutual Securities agreed on, and my Lord have Time to disengage himself.

VI. If you will trust me, and some one or two Persons more, that you shall think fit, with the Entrance into the Manage of this Business, as long as there shall be Reason to keep it secret.

VII. Lastly, If you will proceed on these Grounds speaking generally; then I will do my best to bring all This to pass, and have Reason to be Confident I shall perform it.

After this was read, Mr. *Plunket* objected, that the Foundation of all my Propositions was impossible

impossible to be laid; and that was, the Proceeding on the last Peace, which had been voted against by the Assembly, and all the Adherents to it excommunicated by the Nuncio. I replied, that what one Assembly had voted, another might unvote, if they should see Cause; that the Nuncio's Excommunication against the Adherers to the Peace, was not, that there was any Thing evil in that Peace, in which there were many excellent Provisions for the Benefit of the Nation; but that there was not so much Good, in it for the Securing of Catholick Religion, as he thought necessary; and when he should see that reasonably secured any other Way, it would be all one to him, and the Excommunication might be recalled: After some other Discourse, we parted, they promising to render an Account of the Thing to me speedily. Three or four Days after, the Council sent for me, and did speak to this Purpose; That though it was a very unusual Thing to treat with a Person that shewed no Kind of Commission or Authority, yet they were so Confident of me on the one Part, and so desirous on the other, to lay hold on any Thing might tend to a Peace, as they had taken my Propositions into Consideration, and had agreed concerning an Answer, which for the present I could not receive, but was desired to go along with the Bishop of *Clohar*, to *Kilkenny*, some 20 Miles off, where the Nuncio then was, and there I should have it. So the Bishop and I parted together, who by the Way told me, that when we had been at *Kilkenny*,
we

we must go to General Oneale, that lay with his Army some 30 Miles beyond. After we had been some two Hours in *Kilkenny*, the Bishop found me out, and told me that my Lord Nuncio he feared would be some Stop to our Proceedings; and that I should do well myself to speak with him, which I presently did, my Lord of *Clóbar* being Interpreter. The Nuncio began, saying, that he would willingly consent to the making of a Peace, but not a Cessation, for that, Cessations had been the Reason why the *Irish* Affairs had no better Progress; and that my Lord of *Ormond* did it, but to gain Time, that so he might receive more Forces from the Parliament. I reply'd, that now there could be nothing possible done without a Cessation, the Additions for Religion being to be transacted into *France* and back again: As also a new Assembly was to be called, for Confirmation of Things agreed on. And as for the Landing of Parliament Forces, I did not doubt, but the Council had sufficiently provided for that, in the Conditions of the Cessation, which once signed by my Lord Lieutenant, would be infallibly kept. He answered, that my Lord Lieutenant had deceived him, and he durst not trust him. And after some other Discourse, in which I could see he was not my Lord Lieutenant's Friend, in the End I wished him to be advised what he did, in hindring of an Act decreed by the Supreme Council, that gave so great Hopes of a Future Peace, whereof if Ill should come, it would be attributed to him. He desired me to rest satisfied untill to Morrow, when

when he would again speak with me ; in the mean Time he would write to the Council. The next Day he came to my Chamber and told me, that the Council had by their Letters signified their Consent to his Desire ; which was, that it might be deferred untill *Friday* come Fortnight, when he would call a Convocation of all the Clergy of *Limerick* ; alledging to me how much better it would be, that it were done by the Council and Congregation together, than by the Council alone ; desiring me that I would signify as much to *Dublin*: I reply'd, I feared that Delay might prove fatal, for that I was most assured, the Parliament Commissioners with good Forces and Instructions to satisfy my Lord of *Ormond* in all his Demands, lay at the Water-side, expecting nothing but a Wind ; who, if they arriv'd in the Interim, it would be too late afterwards to talk of any Agreement. What the Nuncio's Reason was for this Delay, I cannot certainly tell ; whether he really intended, not to have a Thing of so great Consequence done without the Consent of the Clergy of the Kingdom ; or whether having no Intention to conclude with my Lord of *Ormond* on any Terms, he had no other Way to break off the Council's Decree, to which *Oneale* himself, had been consenting, I know not ; but this I believe, that this Delay, was the Cause that rendered all my Labours fruitless : For, the Council and *Oneale*, of whose Intentions I was advertised by *David Oneale*, having agreed to the Cessation, as was desired, by which the Parliament Forces would have been excluded from
I Landing,

Landing, all the Rest would have followed. My Opinion is, that the Latter was the Cause, and that he and the Bishop of *Clohar* would run any Hazard rather than accord with my Lord of *Ormond*; against whose Person, I found in the Nuncio, great Animosity; my Lord of *Clohar* being a better Hider of his Thoughts. Soon after I signify'd what had been done, by an Express, to my Lord *Digby*, and with my Letters, sent a Copy of the Propositions I made to the Council: From whom not long after, I received this Answer.

S I R,

YOURS of the 27th of May, I received not untill Yesterday Night, and whenever it had come unto my Hands, you may be sure I should have hasten'd my Answer to you, since here is nothing that possesseth me more, then the Importance of this Business we have in Hand, concerning which you have collected, and represented very rightly my Sence in the Paper you sent me; unto which upon further Thought I can add nothing, but that I daily grow more confident of my being able to do good, if in any Time these People you have to deal with, will enable me in any Proportion of Reasonableness. I am very glad of the Assembly of the Clergy at Limerick, and should be gladder of a general Assembly; for I can never hope to extract any Usefulness out of this Kingdom, but by an unanimous and entire Consent of the Catholick Party, to whatsoever Settlement shall be made. I expect with Impatience the Result of the Assembly

at

at Limerick, in *Way of Answer to the Propositions*, of which I am sure you will not be slow to advertise me. As for Daniel Oneale's Proposition, if it be meant for all the Accommodation, is for the present aimed at, without Relation to the former Peace, is ridiculous; but if there be intended by it, that the former Peace stand valid, and unusually submitted to, such a Kind of Government Assistant to their Quarters, may be continued till they be secured in the conditional Concessions that shall be agreed on, the Proposition in that Sense may not be very unreasonable; but this you must lay as a Ground, that without preserving good the former Peace, (I mean, without Prejudice to any Additionals) not my self, much less my Lord Lieutenant, can meddle at all in any Conjunction with them, since it is that alone, that can restore them to the Quality of such Subjects, as the King's Lord Lieutenant can joyn with. I shall add nothing at this present, but only desire you to hasten unto me, if possible, Security for Repair, and Residence in their Quarters, and the Transportation mentioned to you; since, if this Traffick between us should take vent, I do not know how soon I might run Hazard in these Parts; when as, if once I have my Retreat secure, I shall be bold; besides that there may be suddenly such an Opportunity of drawing away Men from the Parliament, as if once lost, cannot be recovered. God send you in your Endeavours, the Success that is wished by your affectionate Servant;

Lessip, June
3d, 1647.

George Digby.

That which I observe in this Letter is, that my Lord acknowledgeth me to have rightly digested his Sense into Propositions. Secondly, whereas he mentioneth a Proposition made by *Daniel Oneale* (not spoken of before, and which I have not by me) it was something of a joint Government, as one may perceive by the Letter, whereby my Lord Lieutenant should have governed by Assistance of the Confederate Council in their Quarters, until the Peace had been perfect. With his Uncle *Owen Oneale's* Consent, *Daniel Oneale* came on Purpose with it to *Clo-mell*, with Intention to propose it to the Council, where he was made Prisoner for coming without a Pass. To me he gave it, when I came to see him, and I to the Council; to which nothing was said, because the other Propositions were then on Foot; how ever it was, and what so ever it had been, there was nothing to be done without recalling the former Peace, as is Thirdly to be observed in my Lord's Letter; a Thing very difficult, if not impossible, for a new Assembly must be called to unvote, and the Nuncio perswaded to recall his Excommunication; all which did not dishearten me so, but that I still had Hopes, until I received this second Letter from my Lord *Digby*, which was as followeth,

S I R,

Y^esterday the Parliament Commissioners landed with 600 Horse, and 8 or 900 Foot; they hastily and infinitely press my Lord Lieutenant's Performance of Conditions and Surrender of the Places,

Places, with as much Eagerness, as if they feared something might thwart them out of England. If I receive not from you within five Days, positive and reasonable Resolutions unto what I proposed, it will be too late to hope any Good in the Main; besides, this Place will grow too hot for me: I do therefore desire you to hasten unto me a safe Conduct from the Irish, to pass and embark in their Quarters; and to reside for a while, and embark such Men as I can draw away from hence; which if they will presently allow, I am confident I can in a short Time draw away the better Part of the Parliament Forces, and if I might secretly lye for some Time, in some private Place, in their Quarters to confer with you and them, they would not repent it. I have nothing more to add, but to desire you to hasten an Answer to your Affectionate Servant,

George Digby.

P. S. If you find them likely to be reasonable, send me Word in what Condition their Armies are, to march suddenly, if Occasion should be. June the 8th, 1647.

I was, two or three Days before the Receipt of this Letter, come to Clomell, to attend the Resolutions of that Congregation the Nuncio had called, intended at Limerick, but by Accident transferred to Clomell, and so longer deferred, than was at first spoken of by the Nuncio, to me; where not two Hours before I had been with them, sent for by the Nuncio and Clergy, they had made some Objections to me concerning the Propositions, but insisted especially on the Impossibility

possibility of having any Thing to do with the former Peace, which had been condemned by the Clergy and People of the whole Nation; and no wonder (to use their own Words) since whatsoever Provision had been made for the Temporal Part, there had been so little for Religion, as that God was not once named in it. My Reply was something long, but resolved into these two Heads, that my Lord Lieutenant neither would or could treat on any other Foundation, the King's Condition being as it was; That all the Peace being good for the Nation, the Defects in securing Religion might be provided for some other Way, to their Contentment.

Being returned to my Lodging, I received these Letters from my Lord *Digby* above-mentioned, with which I went presently to the Council; and having told them that was come to pass, which I had so long feared, and which they did enough believe; I read such Part of my Lord *Digby's* Letter to them as I thought fit, and then spoke to this Effect. ' That there
' was now no longer Time for Delay, near two
' Days of the five limited in the Letter being
' expired; that if they would delay to do, he
' would no longer delay to speak freely to them,
' though I had little Hope that should prevail,
' if their own imminent Danger, in the Loss of
' those Places under my Lord Lieutenant's
' Power, to the Parliament, did not move them:
' That the King my Master being in that Condition, as they did well know, had given the
' Queen and Prince of Wales Power to treat
' and

and conclude in the Business of *Ireland*; who
 accordingly had been pleased, not only to
 send me with Letters and Instructions to my
 Lord Lieutenant; but also with Letters to all
 the principal Persons and Corporate Towns
 amongst them; whereby they might see the
 real Intentions of the Queen and Prince, to
 contribute all that lay in their Power to such
 a Peace as might be for the King's Service,
 and Good of the Nation, and particularly of
 the Queen, for Advantage of Catholick Re-
 ligion: That I had now been in the King-
 dom more than two Months, and seen very
 little Effects of those Protestations they had
 entered into, of their Obedience to the King,
 which they could not otherwise shew now (espe-
 cially in the present Conjunction of Things)
 but by Demonstration of their Desires to re-
 turn under the Authority of his principal Go-
 vernor my Lord Lieutenant: That my Com-
 mands being to come back so soon as I should
 see no Hopes of their Union with my Lord
 Lieutenant, I was resolv'd very soon to re-
 turn and give an Account according to the
 best of my Understanding of the *Irish* Affairs,
 which had not been the least Cause of my
 Sending thither; the Queen having been
 pleas'd (though unworthy) to make Choice of
 me, not only as an honest Man, but as a Ca-
 tholick, who therefore was not likely to give
 a worse Colour to the Proceedings of the Con-
 federates than they deserv'd; but that as yet
 I could say Little for their Advantage, unless
 they did, in this Instant of Time, do Something
 that

‘ that might alter my Judgment in their Favour.

After this I withdrew ; and two Hours after my Lord *Muscrey*, and another, whose Name I have forgotten, were sent to me with these Answers to my Propositions.

I. **T**O the first we do intend it.

II. When we understand the Matter, and Assurance of the Additional to the late Peace, we shall then call an Assembly, who only have Power to proceed upon the Foot of the late Peace, and to conclude therein, as they shall find Cause.

III. We intend to take and give such Security for the additional Advantages, as shall be agreed upon, until a Settlement in Parliament.

IV. We will, when it shall be seasonable, call an Assembly.

V. We will agree to a Cessation for two Months, the one visible, the other secret, until the Expiration of the first : and in Case there be a clear Resolution of a Breach with the Parliament, we shall then treat upon Enlargement of Quarters, or other Consideration for Maintenance of those of his Lordship's Soldiers, as adhere to the King, upon Security of Restitution as is offered. We also agree to mutual Security during the Cessation and Negotiation with the Queen and Prince.

VI. We agree to this.

VII. Needs no Answer. *June the 11th.*

With

With these I received the Copy of a Cessation, importing three Things; First, a Cessation from all Hostility, according to the usual Manner in such Cases. Secondly, obliging my Lord, during the Time, to receive no more Forces from *England* or *Scotland* into any of his Ports, Cities, or Garrisons. Thirdly, That my Lord should not, during the Time, assist the Enemies of the Confederates in *Ulster* or elsewhere in *Ireland*, nor receive Forces from them.

With these Papers I presently departed, and came the next Night to *Ballisannon*, the Castle of *Mac Thomas*, fifty Miles from *Clomell*, and twenty from *Dublin*, the outermost Garrison of the Confederates, which I thought the fittest Place for me to lye in, for the hearing from both Parties. From thence I sent away, by *Sir Richard Barmel*, the Answers to the Propositions, with the Cessation to my Lord *Digby*, with so much Speed, as it came within the Time he had limited; which Messenger was no sooner parted, but I had a Letter from my Lord *Digby's* Secretary, in which, amongst many others, were these Words.

MY Lord Lieutenant hath written to my Lord Yesterday, that all his Conditions were fully assented unto by the Parliament; and that if he heard not from the Irish on Tuesday or Wednesday at Night, he would put it past Recovery, &c. And again, Nothing is more certain, than that my Lord Lieutenant will put himself and all his Party into their Hands, if now they give him not such an Answer as may in Security and Honour

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invite

invite him to treat with the Irish, whereby the Law will be in their own Hands. Lleslip, 12th of June, 1647.

Soon after I received another from the same Hand, wherein, after he had informed me of Fairfax his taking the King from Holmby, he concludes with these Words: *For God's Sake make haste to come or write to us your Irish Decrees; now they may make themselves and us happy if they will but comply a little.* Lleslip, the 15th of June, 1647. A Day or two after I received these,

S I R,

UPON Tuesday last, the Lord Lieutenant being fiercely press'd by the Commissioners to Surrender, and both needing and desiring the Assistance of his best Friends, with Hazard in the doing, and with great Disturbance since, I got into the Castle at Night, where I now am and where I received Yesterday your Dispatch of the 14th, unto which, in Regard of our present Distractions, I can return at this Time but a very short Answer; which is, that the Answer you sent carries a Shew of so much more reasonable Disposition in the Council there, than I have met with heretofore, that I shall willingly engage my self to deal with you farther upon it, and I will hazard my Life, or procure such a Suspence in the Lord Lieutenant's giving up the Government, as shall allow Time to see whether it may be brought to good Effect; and I conjure you be not disturbed with any Thing you shall hear from any Body but my self, for the Matter here is exactly secret; pray God it be so there, or else all will be undone

undone; it will be impossible, without ruining all, for me to come into those Quarters, and to return to these; but by that Time you shall have sent me the Pass I desired for my self and the Gentleman depending upon me, to Lleslip, I am confident I shall have settled the Business of the Cessation, and be ready to come thither for good and all, till I pass into France to perfect all things. Whatever the Event be, be assured of the clear and faithful Endeavour of your affectionate humble Servant,
George Digby.

P. S. I pray be sure, whatsoever you direct to me, to send it by safe Hands, and carefully writ in Cypher. If the Irish Forces could suddenly press us at Trim, or any where but here, it would help us much, but let them beware coming near Dublin.
June 17, 1647.

I think after this Letter (though Matters in Dublin were brought to that narrow Straight) yet I had no Cause utterly to despair of Success to my Endeavours: I did now know that the Face of Things in England were changed; the King in a Kind of Liberty at Hampton Court; the Parliament, which had been hitherto Presbyterian, and with which my Lord Lieutenant had held his Treaty, was become now Independent, quite another Thing; so that I was confident my Lord of Ormond would be very wary of parting easily from his Government, without fresh Commands from the King, which, whatsoever they were, I was contented. Full of these Hopes, I presently writ to the Council for my Lord Digby's Pass, and his other Desires;

as also letting them know, I doubted not of good Success; desiring that their Army under General *Preston*, might with all Speed, be put into a Posture of marching, for that I thought we should have sudden Occasion to use them; from whom some two Days after, I received Answer, that it should be done. About the same Time this Letter came to me from my Lord *Digby's* Secretary.

S I R,

Make all the Speed that can be, in procuring the Lord *Digby's* Pass and Desires, for till that come he will not stir; and the whole Business runs a great Hazard by Delay. You must also make it your Business to draw the Irish Forces to Trim, or some other Garrison (Dublin excepted) immediately; If these Things be effected speedily and well, doubt not at all of the Success of the Matter in the End. I rest, Yours, &c.
Friday Noon, Leflip.

P. S. Send all your Dispatches hither to me upon all Occasions: Let me hear speedily of your Receipt of this, and what you intend to do in the whole Matter. Deal both with *Preston* and *Oneale*; hasten *Oneale* to Trim, and *Preston* to the Nas, and Minouth; but let him there stop and come no nearer Dublin. This will be well done whatsoever be the Event, and 'tis great Weakness to neglect it. This Letter was presently seconded by an other from the same Hand.

S I R,

S I R,

THIS Morning yours of the 19th, came to my Hands. I am glad to hear of General Preston's Resolution; but all will yet be nothing, unless Oneale also do his Part: Therefore, make it your Business, and let the Irish look upon it as theirs, to see it done out of Hand: Let no private Animosities, or particular Interest or Design, divert Oneale from the Work, nay, nor delay him; for if this Moment of Time be lost, it will be for ever irremediable: Therefore do you, and let the Council lay all their Strength to perswade him to it; if he refuse, the Ruin and Desolation of Ireland, and his Nation will be his Guilt. This is the Place where the Parliament will lay the Ground of the War, and it will prove an irresistible Torrent, to drown the Kingdom without Remedy, unless they be weeded out now presently. If these Garnisons were taken in, and the Irish Armies lodged in these Quarters, the Parliament would soon be starved, and reduced to Nothing that Way, if neither the Peace took, nor Dublin were taken. These Parliament Ambassadors have already sent into Denmark for 40000 Barrels of Rye, and intend to block the Irish Harbours out of Hand, to prevent all Supply of Ammunition from them: They may here perceive how great a Storm hangs over them; yet, if they will but engage their two Armies together in the Work, and resolve secondly, and heartily to embrace the Means, with its Appendances; and if they will send a full, and unquestionable Pass speedily, all will yet do well; that otherwise, any of that trifling will

will make fall to Nothing. Be not startled at any Thing you shall hear of the Lord Lieutenant, who hath given them the Power of the Army, and keeps the Sword and Castle for five Weeks; in which Time and less, all must be done that will be, with and by the Irish. I rest, Tours, &c. The inclosed is for General Preston; let me hear what you have done, and hope from Oneale. Lleslip Jun. 20th, 1647.

The next Day after my Receipt of his Letter, arrives the Writer himself, and shews me a Letter of Credit from my Lord Digby, written in *Limons*, not to be read untill it was warm, in these Words; *Least outward Appearance should beget Distrust, I have Thought fit to send this Bearer unto you, to acquaint you at large with the Grounds of every Thing; I pray you give him full Credit, from your affectionate Servant, George Digby, 21st of June, 1647.* He made a long Narration to me, which I thought fit, in a Business of so great Concernment, to make him set down in Writing; which he did under his own Hand, and is as followeth, Word for Word.

That the Commissioners being landed before any Return to the Propositions came, and possess'd of *Dublin*, and all other Garrisons, with Master Powers, they having Store of Money, and the Marquis of *Ormond* none at all, with which to feed the Soldier; and lastly, having brought him a full Performance of all Conditions, even of those, whereon he did most ground the Hope of an Evasion; and now being fiercely press'd to a Surrender on his

Part

Part, was resolved to perform his Engagement
 immediately, and writ so to the Lord *Digby*;
 who had in several Letters perswaded his De-
 lay, to see if yet any good might possible be
 done: But now finding nothing but a personal
 Interview, and most serious Conference able
 to hinder the Marquis of *Ormond* any longer
 from accomplishing the Work, he notwith-
 standing the most imminent Hazard of the
 Attempt, ventured by Night, to steal into
Dublin Castle to prevent the Surrender the
 next Day intended; where, upon his Arrival,
 (which procured a very great Disturbance) he
 wrought so effectually upon the Marquis of
Ormond, that he brought him the next Day
 to declare to the Commissioners (under Pretence
 of doubting the Authenticalness of their
 Powers, and of Expectation of the Parlia-
 ments solemn Engagement of the Faith of
 both Houses, for the Security of himself, and
 and all his Party, whether perhaps excepted
 or not excepted) that unless they would yet
 give him five Week's Time to hold the Sword
 and Castle in order to his Satisfaction in these
 Particulars, he would rather die in the Gate
 with a Halberd in his Hand, than give it up.
 In which Resolution the Commissioners finding
 him positive, at last assented, that if he would
 surrender into their Hands the Militia forth-
 with, they would permit him the Sword and
 Castle, together with any three Companies he
 should chuse for his Guard for the fore-men-
 tioned Time. This was all that could possibly
 be done in order to a Suspence, they having
 already,

already, by Reason of their Money, and
 overpowering Number, all Things else in their
 Hands. The Answers to the Propositions in-
 tervening, have given good Hopes by the
 reasonable Face of them, that the *Irish* may,
 yet upon Terms, be brought yet to his Maje-
 sty's Obedience, and so both serve him, and
 preserve themselves; of which, whilst the
 Marquis of *Ormond* can in Reason cherish
 a Thought, he will not willingly run on in
 this extreme Course, which the former Pro-
 ceedings of the *Irish* did necessitate him un-
 to; and that so far, that they suffered him to
 engage almost beyond Recovery, before they
 did make any Overture of any better Dispo-
 sition. Now, the only remaining Ways of
 effecting this are; First, That if in this Time
 the Distractions in *England* grow to that
 Height, that the Parliament Party here, may
 see themselves deprived of Hopes of Supply,
 and unable to subsist, should court the Mar-
 quis of *Ormond* to continue here, and so both
 reduce the Power into his Hands, and give
 him Time to treat and perfect a happy Acco-
 modation. Secondly, That if in this Time,
 Monsieur *Tallon* come back from *France*, fur-
 nished so with Monies and other Things, which
 the Marquis of *Ormond* verily expects, he
 shall soon be able to regain his own old Forces,
 and ruin theirs, who are far more amenable
 than his, having most of them served the
 King in his Armies in *England*; and so by
 this Means re-investing himself both in the
 Military and Civil Government, gave both
 Power

' Power and Time to make a Peace. Thirdly,
 ' if in this Time, he can work either upon any
 ' of the Commissioners, or Chief Commanders
 ' of their Forces, and so reduce both them and
 ' the Power into his own Hands. Fourthly,
 ' And indeed, of all the Rest the most present
 ' and certain, if in this Time, the *Irish* can
 ' march into these Quarters so strong and con-
 ' siderable, as to take the Out-Garrisons (of all
 ' which the Marquis of *Ormond* wishes they
 ' could possess themselves) and distress *Dublin*
 ' so, as to make the Commissioners desire a Ces-
 ' sation, which the *Irish* refusing to Assent unto,
 ' unless the Marquis of *Ormond* would take it
 ' upon himself the visible Power, and give him
 ' Time, according to the Length of the Cessa-
 ' tion, more or less, to continue and perfect the
 ' desired Union, and re-establish the King's
 ' Government: Now in Order to bringing this
 ' last Means about, you are desired to let the
 ' Council know, the unavoidable Danger that
 ' hangs over them, and their Nation, if they
 ' lay not immediately aside, all by Ends and
 ' private Interests and Animosity, to attend
 ' this Business, to make them sensible that the
 ' other Forces of *Ulster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*
 ' will only be kept a Foot, by the Parliament,
 ' to divert and distract their Powers; but that
 ' here, in *Leinster*, they intend to lay the great
 ' Foundation of a War; here to keep their
 ' grand Army; here to place their Govern-
 ' ment; and here to erect their Magazines of
 ' Ammunition and Victual. You are desired to in-
 ' form them, how that they have already sent in-

to *Denmark* for huge Provisions of Corn; how
 30000 *l.* per Month, is set aside of Contributi-
 on in *England* for the War of *Ireland*; how the
 Parliament intends to endeavour the blocking
 up of all their Harbours. Hereby you will do
 well to let them see, that this is the only and
 last Opportunity, that ever will be offered them
 to make their own Preservation, by killing the
 Disease in the Beginning, before it grow too
 strong; and before, by the Marquis of *Or-*
mond's quitting, a Peace with the King become
 impossible. You will also let them know, how
 certainly the Parliament is like to grow to an
 irresistible Strength, if this Occasion be let
 slip; and how easily they might now distress
 and destroy them, before greater Forces, and
 those great Provisions they expect, come. It
 were fit they did know, that supposing their
 Armies come down considerably strong, how
 much Master they must needs be of these, who
 cannot possibly make above 6000 Foot, and
 1000 Horse; and what certain Advantages
 they will be sure to get by taking all the ad-
 jacent Garrisons, and possessing the *English*
 Quarters: But you are, if possible, to engage
 them, that they will grant a Cessation whenso-
 ever the Marquis of *Ormond* shall think it ne-
 cessary; and if a Cessation be demanded by
 the Parliament, they will not accept it, but
 by his appearing in it; likewise to oblige
 them, that without the Marquis of *Ormond's*
 Permission (unless by a Siege, or some other
 Accident, he be reduced unto a Condition, that
 is not possible to be known) they will make

' no Attempt upon *Dublin*; and to prevent the
 ' Worst in such a Case, as that he should be ne-
 ' cessitated to call them to that Work; or
 ' they, seeing an Opportunity, should, contra-
 ' ry to their Ingagement, and his Desire, lay
 ' hold of it; that you would, after you have
 ' set their Armies forward (which must be done
 ' in the first Place) descend to Particulars with
 ' them concerning Additionals to the Peace to
 ' be made as reasonable as you can, and to en-
 ' gage them under their Hands, that with those
 ' Additionals under such Security, they will
 ' entertain the Peace, acknowledge the King's
 ' Government, and admit the Marquis of Or-
 ' mond for the King's Lieutenant, whensoever
 ' he shall assent unto them, notwithstanding,
 ' that in the mean Time, those Holds should come
 ' into their Possession.

' It is requisite that you press all that may be
 ' possible, to bring *Owen Roe*, as well as Gene-
 ' ral *Preston*, to the Work, that with more Speed
 ' and Security it may be performed. If this
 ' cannot be effected, that General *Preston* may,
 ' if possible, be made up 10000 Foot, and 2000
 ' Horse, or near unto it; and without Delay,
 ' by special Order directed thither, and instruct-
 ' ed in all reasonable Things, to follow the Ad-
 ' vice of the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Lord
 ' *Digby*. Lastly, a main Part of your Work
 ' must be to create a Confidence in them of the
 ' Marquis of *Ormond* and Lord *Digby's* good In-
 ' tentions to them, which both of them, and
 ' especially the latter, with so much personal
 ' Hazard hath made appear. Instruct them also

' to let the Marquis of *Ormond* and Lord *Digby*
 ' see they have a Confidence in them, and as-
 ' sure them it is the best Way to do their Work,
 ' and all they wish for will, beyond Expectati-
 ' on, be done to their Hands, if with a generous
 ' Resignation they will cast themselves and
 ' their Business upon them. You must needs
 ' procure a full, free and indefinite Pass for the
 ' Lord *Digby* in his publick Capacity to come
 ' to their Quarters, with a competent Number
 ' of Attendants, and to embark for *France*, or
 ' what Place he please, without Interruption
 ' under what Pretence soever. I need not tell
 ' you how you are to inculcate Secrecy unto
 ' them, nor to warn you to give in no Paper
 ' concerning it, with the Marquis of *Ormond*,
 ' or Lord *Digby*, expressly named in it: If they
 ' make Scruple how he can, in Respect of his
 ' Hostage, go thro' here with them, you can
 ' satisfy them in that Particular, what Way he
 ' hath left to do it.

These were the Instructions given me by the
 Secretary, grounded upon his Letter of Credit
 from my Lord *Digby*, and indeed very contrary
 to my Expectation, considering the Letters I
 had from his Lordship but three Days before, of
 the 17th, wherein he made no Doubt of con-
 cluding the Cessation, which also I had written
 to the Council, as also for a Pass for him as he
 desired, and I do wonder how they should think
 that I, who had never shewed any Commission
 from the Queen, or Prince, nor was so much as
 to use either of their Names, how or from whence
 the Credit should come, that must support me,

not

not only to treat with, but to manage the Council in such a Line of Method as was given me by these Directions, on which I will forbear to comment, my Meaning being to write here only Matter of Fact. Well, I shrunk up my Shoulders, and presently departed from *Ballisnon* towards *Kilkenny*, whither the Council were now come from *Clomell*; where, about the 25th of *June*, I arrived; and the Council not being all come together, it was the 28th, before I could move them, which then I did in all the Particulars before mentioned, of which, after I had spoken, I gave them in a Paper abbreviated as I thought fit; to which, the next Day, they Replied, that General *Preston* should, within ten Days, be ready to March so strong, as there should be no Need of General *Oneale*, with other Things, magnifying their own Army, and despising the Parliament Forces. I then, after I had been with several particular Persons, went again to the Council, earnestly importuning *Oneale's* coming, insisting principally on these two Reasons; First, that a Business that so much concerned them, could never be done too surely; that I conceived there was great Danger in the *English* Horse, though against double their Number. Secondly, that my Lord Lieutenant would never think himself sure enough; for, whensoever he should stir, if he made it not good, no less than his Life would pay for it. But all would not do, so much did their Hatred, for to Nothing else can I ascribe it, to the old *Irish*, over-balance their Reason. As for the Nuncio, however possibly he might be content the Parlia-

ment

ment should rather have those Places, than my Lord of *Ormond* stay in the Kingdom, which yet I do not aver for a Truth; howbeit, most certainly he was very willing that *Oneale* should have his Part of the Enterprize; who himself was so desirous (of which I am most certain) as he forbore proceeding on his Design against *Sligo*, in Expectation to be summoned to that Business, then lying idle in *Connaught*, with an Army of 10000 Horse and Foot. Indeed I was press'd by some Gentlemen of good Quality in that Country, to write my self to *Oneale*, they assuring me he would March on my Letter; whether it were so or no I know not, but I thought it not fit to try, nor durst I offend the Council. In this Interim I received a Letter from General *Preston* as followeth.

S I R,

I received yours of the 21st, and do expect such a Number of Forces, as I shall go without any great Danger to effect any Thing I take in Hand. I understand General *Oneale's* Forces are advanced into *Connaught*, and himself at *Athlone*; whether he will return or not, is yet unknown to me. My Army is daily mustering, and will, God willing, suddenly be in a Body; if then any Occasion, with Assurance, shall be offered, I shall be ready to answer it, or any other Service that may tend to his Majesty's Advantage, and the Good of this Nation. In the mean time you shall have timely Notice before I move, who am your humble Servant. Camp 21st of June.

And

And not long after, another written to him by my Lord Digby's Secretary, in which he desires him, after his reading it, to send it to me, it seems for the News sake; for there he tells him, that the King was come to London, &c. And then, I send you this to rejoice, for I know you love the King, and all that love him, in our Nation. The Commissioners in Dublin sate all Night, admitting no Access unto them. And this in Cypher, Make haste in your Business, and lose no Time in your March to these Parts, but come as well accounted as you can. This is the Scene, &c. July the 1st, 1647.

Another of the 3d to me, from the same Hand.

S I R,

I Wonder exceedingly I have not heard from you all this Time, you knowing to how short a Limit we are confined: The Distractions in England are grown to so great a Perfection, that it is believed really the King is in London, and the Parliament dissolving. I beseech you press the Irish to be quick in the whole Business; principally their Advance, and the Pass; at least, let us know speedily the Result of their Councils. My Lord is affectionately yours, and commands it to be signified by your, &c. July the 3d, 1647.

Then another.

S I R,

I Received, just now, yours of the last of June, and thank you for it. The Mutiny the other
Day

Day at Dublin, may sufficiently let you see the Importance of the Irish Advance into these Parts; for had they been within eight Miles of Dublin, ready to march at an Hour's Warning, I do not know why much of that we aim at, might not then have been compassed; but I make no question, if they be at that Distance suddenly, nearer than which they must not come yet, unless they mean to unite them all, and make them attempt the Destruction of those, on whom our Hopes depend: Such Opportunities will daily be offered, but I fear the Delays; for a little more Force will make us loose them all, &c. July the 4th, 1647.

About the 13th of July, General Preston sent me this Copy of a Letter he had received from the fore-mentioned Secretary, with another Copy of a Letter to be signed and written by him to my Lord Lieutenant, of which I was to have the Council's Approbation, and had it; being drawn by the said Secretary. Take this first to Preston. If there were not a Fate of Destruction hung over this Kingdom, it were impossible that your Army could have stayed so long out of these Quarters, into which, if you had briskly advanced, you might infallibly e'er this, have had most of the Garrisons but Dublin, or have forced the Commissioners to have put back all theirs, into the Marquis of Ormond's Hands, and enabled him and others to have compassed that Good for the Kingdom, which they most heartily desire: And yet, if they advance a good Way the next Week, it is probable, that our End may be compassed of preserving this Nation; but I fear I shall

shall find it their Fate, that they must not contribute unto the re-establishing of his Majesty's Authority so much as here; but that on the contrary, when the Affairs of England shall have re-settled my Lord Lieutenant here, without your Help, which is confidently believed before the Time prefix'd for his quitting will be; then your Armies will be ready to March and make War upon him, however that you see Things now omitted here, that might enable us to preserve Ireland from Calamities that threaten it. The Pressures for your Advance are renewed now in the only Minute of Time for you to advantage your selves, and to merit from the King at one Time. The inclosed Draught of a Letter is offered unto you, as very requisite to be sent by you to the Marquis of Ormond. When you are upon your March, you will do well to send the Copy of it to and the Council, that it may be dispersed in Print, soon after you have sent the Letters to Dublin. I pray you also send to a Copy of this my Letter to you, to peruse privately. The Affairs of England go on well. Your most faithful humble Servant, &c.

P. S. Lose no Time, I conjure you; will further you in all Things; there can nothing be thought of so advantageous to your Business, nor so p'ausible to the World, as your sending this Letter when you come, than this, which Preston was, upon his March, to send to my Lord Lieutenant.

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My LORD,

BEING now upon my March with an Army beyond the Limits of the Confederate Catholick Quarters; I have thought it my Duty to his Majesty, and your Excellency his Lieutenant, to declare unto you, that the Ground of my Advance into these Quarters, is my Understanding that the Power and Command in them is no longer in your Excellency, nor in any deriving Authority from his Majesty, but on the contrary, in the Hands of Parliamentary Rebels, the Supplanters of his Power in the three Kingdoms; that as we think our selves bound, both by Allegiance, in Relation to our Sovereign, by Conscience in Relation to our Religion, and by the Law of Nature for Self-Preservation, to prosecute War against them to the uttermost of our Lives and Fortunes, which by the Grace of God we shall do, renouncing all Treaty or Correspondency with such: So on the other side, I do sincerely profess unto your Excellency, that I, and all under my Command, are so sensible of the most unhappy Misunderstanding, since the last Peace, and so passionately desirous, if possible, of redeeming the said Misfortune, that could I be so happy as to receive from your Excellency any Assurance, that yet the Power and Authority from his Majesty remains in you, and that there might be any Hope of our being admitted to his Service upon such Terms, as may be consistent with our Religion, and natural Freedom of Subjects, that I should be so far from proceeding a Step in any Act of Hostility, that on the contrary I shall most gladly embrace any Way of Treaty or Cessation, that may tend to
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that blessed End (and for which alone we will ever fight) of settling a happy Peace in this Kingdom, in perfect Obedience to his Majesty; which shall be testified to the World by the Actions of your Excellencies most humble Servant, &c.

About the 15th of July, General Preston having sent this Letter by a Trumpet, advanced into the *English* Quarters with an Army consisting by the Pole, of between 7 and 8000 Foot, and about 1100 Horse; the Foot, as lusty appearing Men, and as well accoutred with Arms and Cloaths, as ever I did see; and the Horse in Appearance equal to our ordinary Troops in *England*; and hearing that the Enemies Horse were advanced to the *Nas*, a Garrison of theirs some 8 Miles, as I remember, from *Dublin*, marched towards them; the Enemy drawing out their Horse, which were presently charged by the *Irish* Horse, and after some Time forced back into the Town; which the *Irish* entring with them, they quit, as their Foot had done before, and so retreated towards *Dublin*, Preston having much ado to restrain his Horse from the Pursuit; who it seems feared their whole Armies being drawn out to second them, his Foot being not yet come up: But it was not so, for the *English* Horse despising the *Irish*, had some 4 or 500 of them drawn out from the Rest of their Strength, and had paid dearly for their Bravado, if Preston had not been too wise: However this gave more Wisdom to the *English*, and more Folly to the *Irish*; the First not so confident as before; the Latter

more confident after, than there was Reason. In the mean Time I received this Letter from the Secretary.

S I R,

I Had yours of the 8th, the Time prefix'd, for my Lord's Surrender of the Sword and Castle draws so near, that if by fair Means, we cannot compass our Ends, we must try it by Force; but to this there is something absolutely necessary; to wit, that you have a positive Assurance from the Council, that if the Power shall be again recovered into my Lord Lieutenant's Hands, that we shall be sure of a present Cessation for 3 or 4 Months, in which to procure from the King the Powers and Conditions for a Peace; for this, that you have a solemn Engagement under their Hands, we expect to be suddenly certified; without which, we shall not venture on any Act of Violence, to recover the Power; the Irish are not wise if they stick at any Thing. Let me have your Answer speedily; there is no fresh News out of England; we have Reason to be confident, that by this Time, Things are at a good Issue there, July the 15th.

In the mean Time it seems the Council had Notice by some coming out of Dublin, that my Lord was not Master of the Castle, into which, as those informed, he had admitted some Companies of Parliament Foot; so that when I came to move them about the Assurance demanded in the last Letter from the Secretary; they told me of their Informations; as also, that my Lord had never meant in good Earnest,

Earneſt, but that I had been deceived; which, however they ſeemed to believe I was not willingly; nor meant I to deceive them. Soon after which, they ſent me a Paper by the Biſhop of *Limerick* in Answer to thoſe Affurances, and other Things I demanded of them, which what they were, may be collected out of the former Inſtructions and Letters; which Paper I have loſt: But by the Copy of a Letter of mine, the Subſtance may be gueſs'd at; my Letter was thus to the Secretary.

S I R,

THE Copy of the Letter I received in yours, is conſented unto, and diſpatched away. In mine of the 8th, I gave you Reaſons for the Council's Delay in returning me Answer to thoſe your Deſires, by me propoſed to them; as alſo, that they had now promiſed me a ſpeedy Reſolution, in Order to which, Yeſterday my Lord of *Limerick* gave me a Paper; the Subſtance of which was, that as they had haſten'd their Army's Advance to thoſe Ends and Purpoſes deſired, all that might be, ſo was it now well forward on its March, ſo ſtrong as they doubted not at all, it would be able to do the Work, without the Help of General *Oneale*; that as for thoſe other Things deſired, which were of Subſtance to the main Buſineſs in Hand (and what thoſe Things are, I doubt not but you can eaſily collect) the general Face of Affairs had received great Alteration ſince my Delivery of theſe laſt Propoſitions in two Things, which were not then known. The Firſt, that my Lord had not only diveſted himſelf of the Power of the Militia, but alſo, that he was not at all
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Master of the Castle; of which last, they were most certainly informed by the Examination of Divers, that were lately come out of the Castle, and Town of Dublin, tho' they did believe I did not know it, when I gave in the Propositions. The Second was, the late Alteration of his Majesty's Condition, whose Orders they did know, my Lord Lieutenant in this Vacation of Time, would not be slack to send for, and being come, would do his best to obey them, what Obligation soever of doing, or not doing, this, or that; in the mean Time they should put on themselves; and that therefore, it should be great Imprudence in them, to oblige themselves to any Thing further than the present Condition of their Affairs required, untill such Time as some Person interested would appear; and be likewise, as there should be Cause, obliged. That they had already given great Testimony of their good Desires, and Intentions to do any Thing, tending to their Submission to his Majesty's Authority, in their Answers given to my Propositions; which altho' authorized by no Body that appeared, nor undertaken by me further than His Verbis: I would do my best Endeavour to bring them to pass; yet they had in a full Council and Congregation assembled, answered fully to every one of them. That howsoever, when it should appear to them, that my Lord was re-invested with his former Power, to which End he should command the Assistance of their Army when he pleased, they would be ready to do any Thing, in Order to the making good of those Answers, they had given to my first Propositions. Lastly, concerning the desired Pass for my Lord Digby, as they had much Expectation of the good Offices his Lordship might do
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in these Businesses, being in a Place so near my Lord Lieutenant, so were they loth to give him any Encouragement to come away, before they might see what Issue Things would have, which had been the true Reason of delaying it so long. But if that, by any Accident, he should be in the mean Time occasioned to come into their Quarters, he should not doubt of finding Safety and Protection there, for him and his, and Permission to go to Sea, when and whither he would, Kilkenny, July 18th.

This Answer of the Council was not without Grounds; nor their Information of Things in the Castle of Dublin false, though as then I would not believe it: But within 3 or 4 Days I was put out of Doubt by this Letter from my Lord Digby, which should have come 3 Days sooner.

S I R,

HAVING received certain Information of the State of Affairs in England, from one employed thither by me, who hath had Access to the King himself; and finding Things there, tending to sudden and entire Settlement, but so much to the King's Advantage as was hoped: And the Discovery to the Parliament Commissioners out of the Irish Quarters of all Things formerly in Transaction between us; I hold it absolutely necessary that I should confer with you, to let you see the true State of every Thing, and to new mould our Business, that no Accident may raise a Suspicion of your not being dealt sincerely with: You are conjured to hasten hither to Lellis, in which there cannot

cannot be the least Danger for you, the Parliament Army lying as it doth, or advancing nearer as it intends this Day. *Leflip*, July 19th, 1647.

That Day I received this Letter, being the 23d, I parted from *Kilkenny*, and the next arrived to my Lord *Digby*, from whom I had this :
 ' That the Commissioners having Notice, from
 ' I know not whom, of our Intelligence, had
 ' seized Colonel *Barie*, and my Lord *Taffe* in
 ' the Town, and had gone presently to my
 ' Lord in the Castle, letting him know their
 ' Suspicion, demanding Assurance by Permission
 ' of some Companies of their Soldiers to enter
 ' the Castle, which my Lord had accorded to
 ' them, resolved now to proceed in his Agree-
 ' ment with the Parliament: And the 28th of
 ' *July*, the Day prefix'd, to deliver the Sword
 ' and Castle into their Power; that yet for all
 ' this I could not be troubled, for he had not-
 ' withstanding my Lord's Departure, great
 ' Hopes nevertheless of doing the Business." I replied, ' That I could not chuse but be
 ' troubled, yet must be contented whether I
 ' would or not; that I was of his Opinion,
 ' there was yet much Good to be done, of which
 ' I was glad his Lordship did not Despair; but
 ' yet, that would now prove difficult, which
 ' before had been easy. From *Leflip* I went to
 ' *Preston's* Army, who after taking the *Nas*,
 ' leaving there a Garrison, marched to *Minouth*,
 ' a Castle of my Lord of *Kildare's*, I think not
 ' above 4 or 5 Miles from *Dublin*; and after 2
 ' or 3 Days, took that by Assault; there like-
 ' wise

' wife leaving some Men, he went and sat
 ' down before *Trim*; where I found him much
 ' troubled at my Lord of *Ormond's* Surrender,
 ' and very little confident of any Thing I could
 ' say to him, though I informed him of what
 ' Numbers their Forces about *Dublin* consisted;
 ' that they intended to march to him, so soon
 ' as the *Scots* were come to them, whom they
 ' expected every Day, being 2000 Horse and
 ' Foot; that I did yet hope we should find
 ' some Means or other to introduce the King's
 ' Authority amongst them on Conditions to
 ' their liking.' He answered, ' He should be
 ' very glad of it, and that there was nothing
 ' he and that Army could do should be want-
 ' ing.' I told him likewise, ' That my Lord
 ' *Digby* would be accountable for *Leslip*, which
 ' he had forborn to take in, upon my Lord's un-
 ' dertaking that Charge.' From thence I went
 with Monsieur *Monerie* the *French* Agent, who
 was likewise there, to a Knight's House, who
 was Brother in Law to my Lord Lieutenant,
 whose Name I cannot remember, Ten Miles
 off, where, by Appointment, we were to meet
 my Lord *Digby*, and my Lord *Taffe*, who both
 accordingly came thither. The next Day my
 Lord *Digby* desired me to return to the Army,
 and if it might be, to procure a meeting be-
 tween the Bishop of *Ferne*, with Mr. *Plunkett*,
 then Commissioners from the Council with the
 Army, and my Lord *Digby* and my self, about
 laying a new Foundation of our Business; I
 found them very incredulous and backward;
 yet they agreed, upon my Importunity, to
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meet the next Day at a certain Place, whither my Lord *Digby*, my Lord *Taffe*, and I were no sooner come, but we had Notice that *Jones* was drawn out of *Dublin* with his Army marching behind us; and soon after a Note from the two Commissioners, that they could not come for the said Reason. So we parted, my Lord *Digby* to *Leship*, my Lord *Taffe* and I towards *Kilkenny*, all of us expecting the Event of that Battel, which all of us feared was towards; I say feared, for we had done our endeavour to dissuade *Preston* from fighting, both my Lord *Taffe* and I alledging, the Danger of the *English* Horse, as also the Coming up of the *Scots* the Night before. But my Lord of *Ormond's* Action had rendred *Preston* and the rest so distrustful, as they believed every Thing the less, because it came from any they conceived to have been of the Party; but it had been better for them they had believed; for within five Days after *Preston* was Overthrown, and 4000 Men killed on the Place, and almost all his Commanders Prisoners, he himself escaping very hardly: And with the Ruin of this Army were all my Hopes, as to the doing any further Good in *Ireland*, likewise ruined; so that I resolved, although I had received no new Order from the Queen, with the next Conveniency to depart for *France*. But my Lord *Digby*, for whom I had, notwithstanding all this, procured a Pass to come to *Kilkenny*, though with much ado, desired me not to stir untill I heard from him out of *France*; alledging that there was no Body but my self left to do the King's Business there, whatever Resolu-

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tion should be taken. I told my Lord, I would not stay at any Desire, but if he would Command me, I would Obey, being so tied by my Instructions. He did so, with promise to recommend my good Endeavours to the Queen and Prince, and that I should soon hear from him; and so we parted, he to Sea, and I, not long after, to *Galloway*, where then my Lord *Clanriccard* was, who invited me so kindly, as from that Time, which might be about the End of *August*, I never left him until *March*, that I set Sail to *France*. At my Lord *Clanriccard*'s, about the Beginning of *November*, I received a Command from the Queen for my Return, whose Date was more than three Months old, which I did not presently obey, expecting to hear from my Lord *Digby*, which I did about *February*, to this Purpose: 'That he did see no farther Occasion for my Stay in *Ireland*, and that I might come when I pleased.' And about the latter End of *March* following, in the soonest Passage from *Galloway* I could find, in Company of my Lord of *Worcester* and my Lady, we set Sail, arriving at *Havre de Grace* in five Days.

FINIS.

